

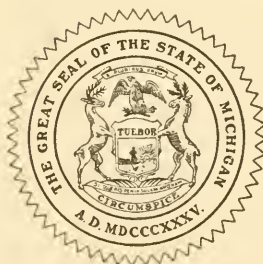


ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL BEGINNINGS OF MICHIGAN

A STUDY OF THE SETTLEMENT OF THE
LOWER PENINSULA DURING THE
TERRITORIAL PERIOD
1805-1837

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BY
GEORGE NEWMAN FULLER, Ph. D.



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Monograph

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TO MY UNCLE,
NEWMAN A. FULLER,
WHOSE GENEROSITY HAS ENABLED ME
TO RENDER TO MY NATIVE STATE THIS SERVICE,
THIS VOLUME IS AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED.

D. of D.
JUN 1 1917

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is impossible to acknowledge adequately the debt I owe to all of those who have so generously aided me in finding and studying my sources. To my master, Professor Claude H. Van Tyne, Head of the Department of History in the University of Michigan, I wish specially to express my deep obligation for indispensable aid received at every stage of the work. Special acknowledgments are due to Professor Edward Raymond Turner, also of the University, for invaluable suggestions in preparing the manuscript, and to Professors Wilbur C. Abbott and Max Farrand of Yale, for assistance received in the inception of the work.

It would seem almost invidious to particularize the officers and attendants of the University Library, the State Library, the Burton Library, and the city libraries of Michigan, especially those of Detroit and Grand Rapids, who have been uniformly generous in extending privileges to facilitate these researches.

The selection of the subject of this work grew out of an interest in Michigan history begun in early years and a desire to make some return to my native State for the advantages I have received from her. The work is now presented as a token of esteem for the pioneer builders of the commonwealth, and to their descendants I wish to express sincere gratitude for the encouragement that has lightened my labor.

P R E F A C E

IT has been the hope of the author to call attention to the fertile field which lies at the beginning of Michigan's history as an agricultural commonwealth under American institutions. So far from being exhaustive, this treatise is but an introduction to the subject. Many of its topics could be expanded into useful monographs. For example, the War of 1812 in relation to the Michigan frontier is here but lightly touched upon; the succeeding financial crisis—especially in relation to other factors causing emigration from the eastern states—the dissemination of knowledge about Michigan in the East and abroad, the several land and Indian questions, the rise of lake commerce, and many other subjects equally obvious—all would yield richly to the research of the patient student.

The place of the monograph will be clear in the light of previous works on Michigan. The books that have appeared hitherto are very general accounts in which economic and social factors are incidental; here, as the leading title is intended to suggest, we are concerned only with those facts which bear directly upon the beginnings of Michigan's economic and social history.

And if we except the fur trade, the period of Michigan Territory is well within those beginnings. Before then the spirit of the French period was unfavorable

to the advance of agriculture. The fur trader wished the forests to stand to protect the fur-bearing animals; the missionary wished the frontier distant to preserve his Indian converts from the influence of the white settlements; in the paternalism and militarism of that period there was little room for popular activity through local civil institutions; and there was little immigration and permanent home-building; after more than a century of French occupation only a few hundred families had been planted in the whole of the southern peninsula, mainly at one point, and these families were interested principally in the fur trade. The periods of British and early American occupation were not essentially different. It was the opinion of Major John Biddle, who was at the head of the Detroit Land Office during most of the Territorial period, that "as an American community, founding its prosperity upon the permanent resources of its own industry, Michigan may date its origin in 1818.¹" This was an interpretation by a man of practical affairs speaking near the close of the Territorial period from the viewpoint of the tremendous impulse given to the development of agriculture, industry and commerce by the opening of public land sales at Detroit and the beginning of steam navigation on the Great Lakes.

The close of Michigan's Territorial history marks also the close of a quite distinct economic period. The years preceding 1837 saw such unprecedented acceleration of economic growth and prosperity, and the stagnation of all activities following the financial crisis of

1. *Historical and Scientific Sketches of Michigan* (Detroit, 1834), 163.

1837 was so general and complete, that these years are marked off distinctly from all that followed.

The author has employed the somewhat vague term "settlement" to indicate the process by which an immigrant population adjusts itself to a new environment. The factors in this process, as here considered, may be gathered into four groups, which while they blend into one another, are fairly distinguishable and correspond approximately to four phases of this adjustment. They center about (1) governmental aids, (2) immigration, (3) active pioneering and (4) institutional growth. The first group involves the military protection of the frontier, the extinguishing of Indian titles, the surveying of lands, the establishment of land offices, the regulation of land sales, the organizing of counties and townships, and the improvement of facilities for transportation. The second group concerns the sources of population—why people left their old homes, why they came to Michigan, how they reached Michigan, and the qualities, habits and ideals which they brought with them. A third group relates to clearing the forest, cutting roads, breaking the lands, building homes and villages, and establishing the local institutions of community life. A fourth group deals with subsequent growth, when with immigrants still coming in great numbers, institutions began to take on a permanent character; here are noted the checks and stimuli of institutional growth and the comparative rate and amount of growth in different periods, the relative tendencies to village and city life, and the concentration of rural population, the interaction of rural and urban growth, especially with reference to im-

provements in transportation, and the distinguishing features of large centers of population.

The first two chapters are introductory. Chapter I gives a general survey of the geologic and physical conditions which affected the economic development of the Territory as a whole. Chapter II treats the essential checks and stimuli other than these. Together they should help to unify the chapters that follow.

The subsequent chapters are based mainly upon those physiographic agents which influenced the time, rate, amount and distribution of population. The part of the Territory affected by immigration before 1837 appears to divide naturally on this basis into a half dozen settlement areas. First, there are the counties of Monroe, Wayne, Macomb and St. Clair which have many common physical features, the earliest lands to be settled by the French-Canadians and by settlers from eastern states. Oakland, Washtenaw and Lenawee were the first inland counties to receive immigrants and each represents a great line of immigration along which population moved to the interior, respectively northwest to the Saginaw country, west to the valleys of the Kalamazoo and Grand rivers, and to the St. Joseph country in southwestern Michigan. Each of the four river valleys, the St. Joseph, the Kalamazoo, the Saginaw and the Grand, make a natural area of settlement. The concluding chapters deal with the sources and character of the new population and present a brief resume.

The author can of course claim no more for the accuracy of the results than is warranted by the nature of the materials with which some parts of the work have

had to be done. Secondary materials, and not of the best kind, have been in some cases the only possible recourse; but where used these have been carefully pointed out. It should be said of the county histories that despite their frankly commercial nature a few of them show real insight into local problems and deal with them intelligently, while others deserve special praise for fullness of detail obviously gathered painstakingly.

In another class are the pioneer reminiscences, many of which are trustworthy and useful. The habit of keeping a diary, or journal of events, common in the early days made it possible for a pioneer to refresh the memory later; many printed reminiscences profess to be an embodiment of facts set down in this manner years before. For some phases of the subject—as the nativity of settlers, the conditions of early travel and transportation, the founding of settlements, and contemporary local opinion—this material furnishes often about all the information that is obtainable. The volumes of the *Michigan Historical Collections* are a mine of this material and have been heavily drawn upon.

The early newspapers have also been used extensively. They contain much unconscious testimony of early conditions, especially in the advertisements, and in some aspects of the subject they are quite as valuable for what they led immigrants to believe about Michigan or about certain localities as for the truth of their statements. Many of them were started as advertising mediums to “boom” their localities and were widely circulated in the East by speculators.

So far as possible the author has checked these ma-

terials from the more reliable classes of data, as the laws, legislative journals, executive documents, court reports, censuses and accredited monographs. References are given for all statements taken from them. The vast amount of detail from various sources which the author has examined on every point should of itself afford sufficient check to prevent serious errors.

In this pioneer attempt the aim has been to be logical, accurate and clear, rather than literary; the author will gladly welcome criticism and correction.

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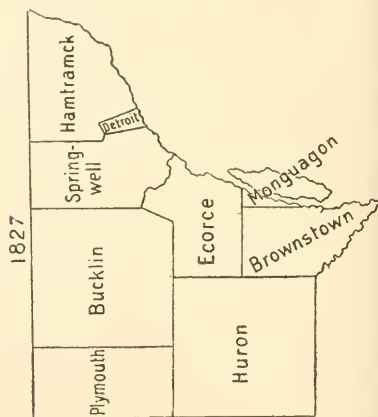
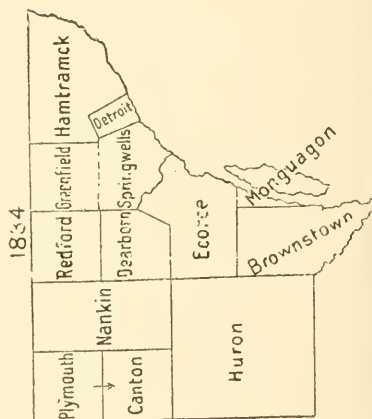
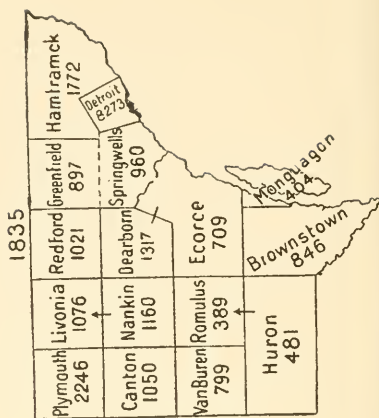
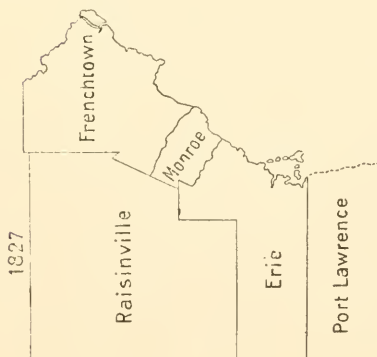
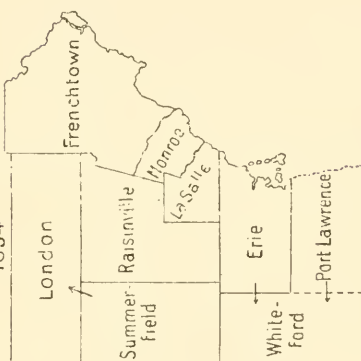
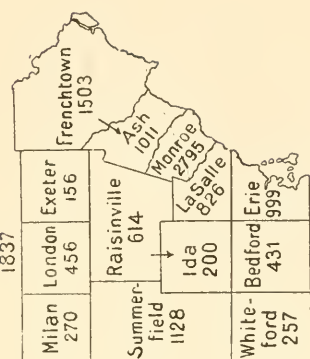
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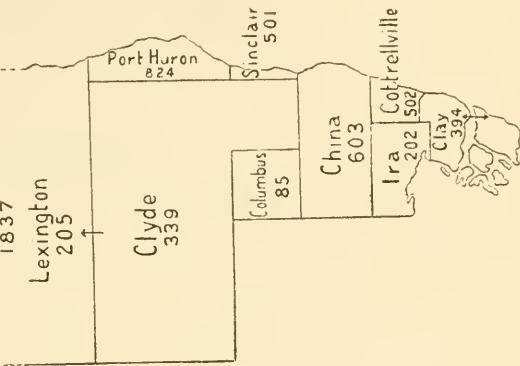
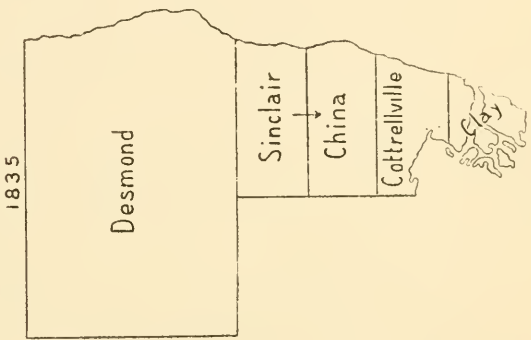
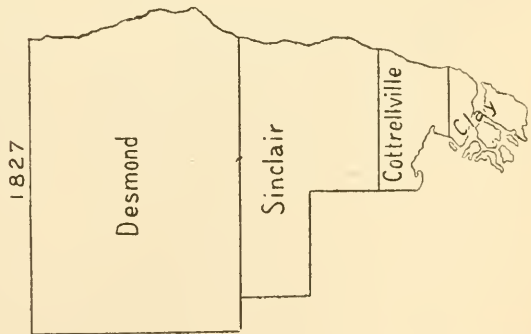
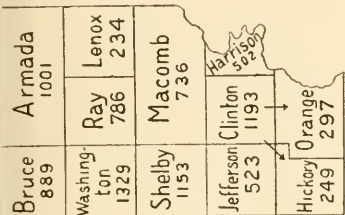
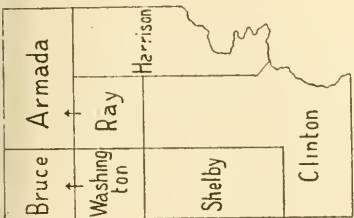
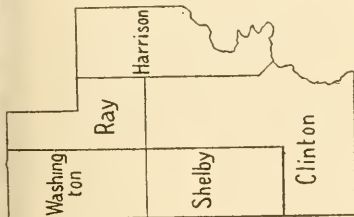
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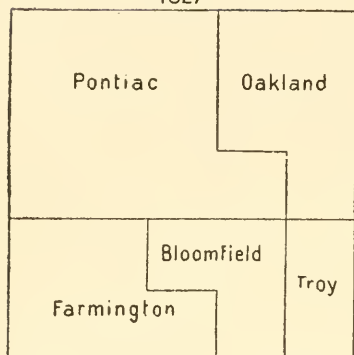
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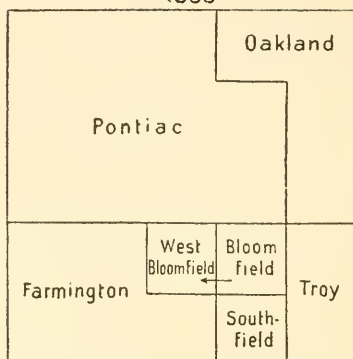


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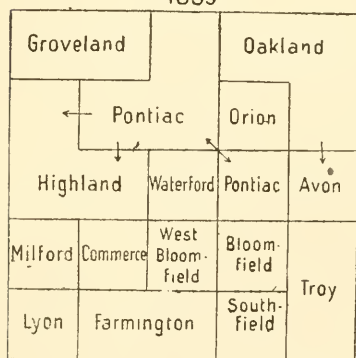
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1833



1835

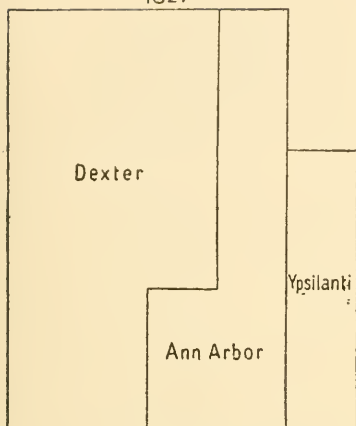


1837

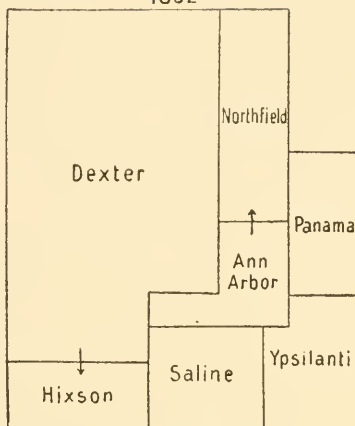
Groveland 664	Brandon 263	Oxford 384	Addison 343
Rose 202	Painsville 403	Independence 668	Orion 593
Highland 440	White Lake 363	Waterford 828	Pontiac 1700
Milford 667	Commerce 747	West Bloomfield 1004	Bloomfield 1485
Lyon 1051	Novi 1335	Farmington 1724	Southfield 956

WASHTENAW COUNTY

1827



1832



1834

Dexter		Webster	Northfield	Salem
↓	↓			
Sylvan	Lima	Scio	Ann Arbor	Superior
↓	↓		↓	
Sharon	Freedom	Lodi	Pitt	← Ypsilanti
		↕		
Bridgewater	Saline	York	←	

1837

Lyndon 361	Dexter 596	Webster 832	Northfield 793	Salem 1354
Sylvan 480	Lima 895	Scio 1442	Ann Arbor 2944	Superior 1378
Sharon 782	Freedom 795	Lodi 1063	Pitt 1208	Ypsilanti 2280
Manchester 805	Bridgewater 923	Saline 1130	York 1197	Augusta 559

LENAWEE COUNTY

1827

Tecumseh
Logan
Blissfield

1833

Franklin	
↑	Tecumseh
Logan	
	Blissfield

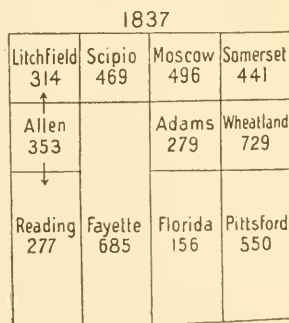
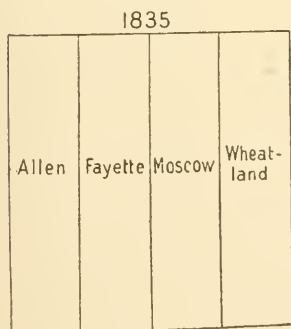
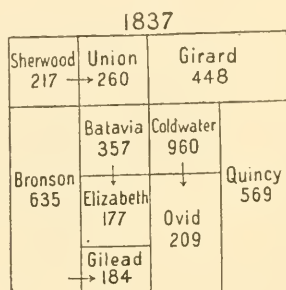
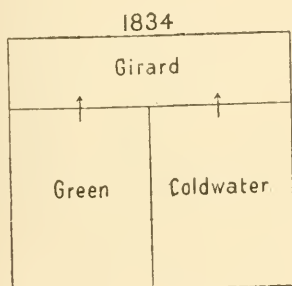
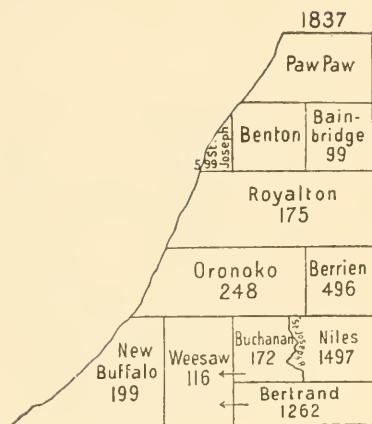
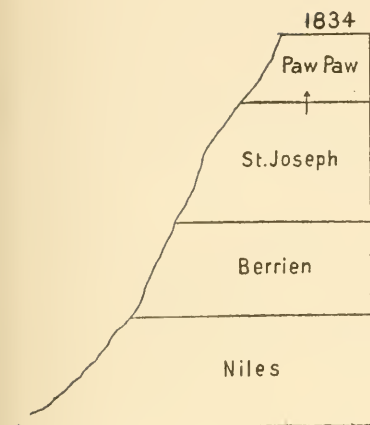
1835

Franklin			Tecumseh	Macon
Rollin	Rome	Logan	Raisin	
Lenawee			Palmyra	Blissfield
Fairfield				

1837

Woodstock 541	Cambridge 523	Franklin 989	Tecumseh 2464	Macon 1111
Rollin 508	Rome 826	Logan 1962	Raisin 1076	
Hudson ?	Dover 680	Lenawee 1151	Palmyra 898	Blissfield 559
Medina 420	Seneca 431	Fairfield 203	Ogden 198	

BERRIEN COUNTY



HILLSDALE COUNTY

BRANCH COUNTY

BRANCH COUNTY

CASS COUNTY

1829

Pokagon	La Grange	Penn
Ontwa		

1834

Pokagon	La Grange	Volinia
Howard	Jefferson	Penn
Ontwa	Porter	

1837

Silver Creek	Wayne	Volinia
108	223	427
Pokagon	La Grange	Penn
506	699	693
Howard	Jefferson	Calvin
366	395	201
Ontwa	Mason	Porter
1012	224	442

1829

Flowerfield	Sherman
White Pigeon	

1833

Flowerfield	Nottawa	Colon
Bucks		
White Pigeon	Sherman	

1837

Flowerfield	Nottawa	Leonidas
406	713	374
Bucks		Colon
782		368
Constantine	Florence	Sherman
842	440	1043
Mottville	White Pigeon	
497	872	

ST. JOSEPH COUNTY

KALAMAZOO COUNTY

1830

Arcadia
Brady

1834

Arcadia	Richland
	Comstock
Brady	

1837

Cooper 386	Richland 720
Kalamazoo 1373	Comstock 1383
	Pavilion 548
Prairie Ronde 865	Climax
Brady 1292	

1836

Newark 190	Alleghan 621	Otsego 341	Plainfield 317
---------------	-----------------	---------------	-------------------

ALLEGAN COUNTY

1837

South Haven 65.	Clinch 108
Lawrence 202	Lafayette 246
Covington 183	Antwerp 232
	Decatur 224

VAN BUREN COUNTY

CALHOUN COUNTY

1837

Milton 1632	Convis 170 ↑	Marengo 737	Sheridan 353
	Marshall 1801	Eckford 530	Albion 773 ↑
Athens 288	Burlington 378 →	Tekonsha 278	Homer 1019

1835

Milton	Marengo
Athens	Homer

1833

Milton	Marengo
	Marshall

1837

Sandstone ↓ Parma	Rives ↑	West Portage	East Portage
	Jackson	Leoni	Grass Lake
Concord	Liberty ↑	Napoleon (No census returns for townships)	

1836

Sandstone	Jacksonburg		West Portage	East Portage
	Spring Arbor	Leoni	Grass Lake	Napoleon
Concord	Hanover			

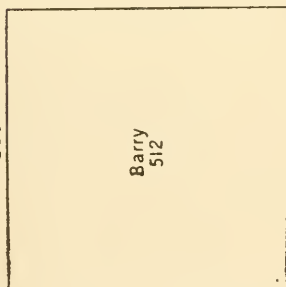
1832

Spring Arbor	Jacksonburg	Grass Lake
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JACKSON COUNTY

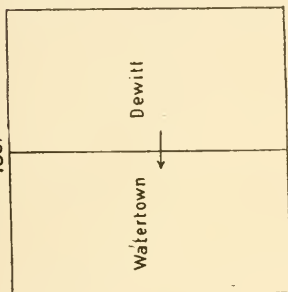
BARRY COUNTY

1836



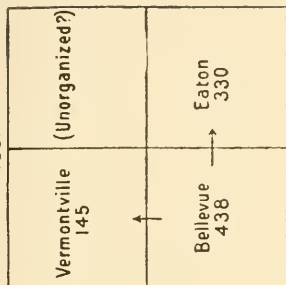
CLINTON COUNTY

1837

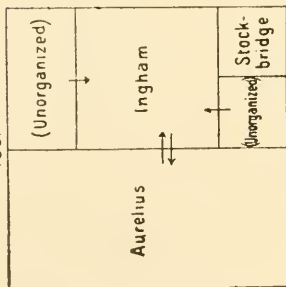


EATON COUNTY

1837

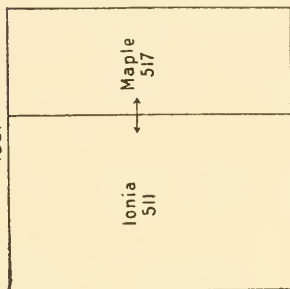


1837



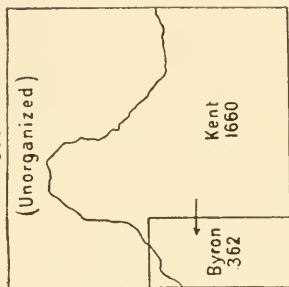
INGHAM COUNTY

1837



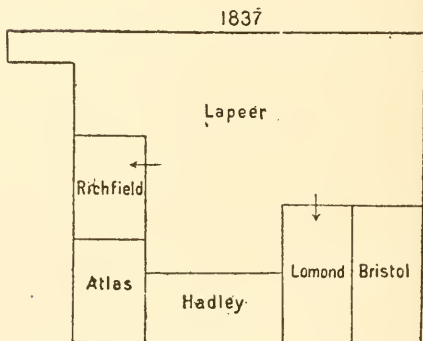
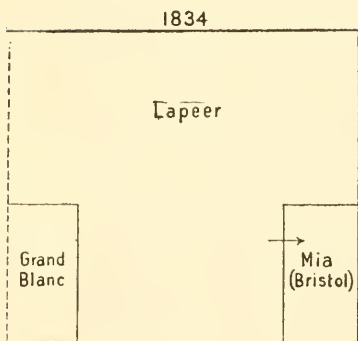
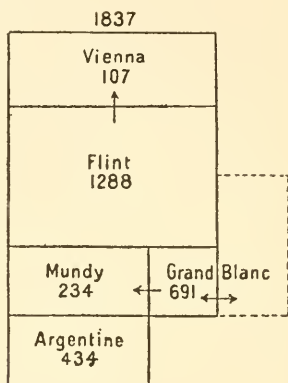
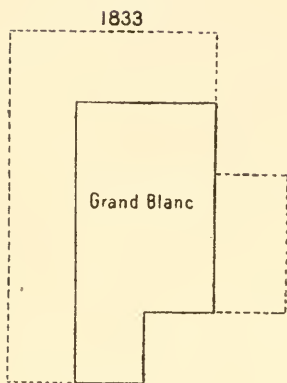
IONIA COUNTY

1836



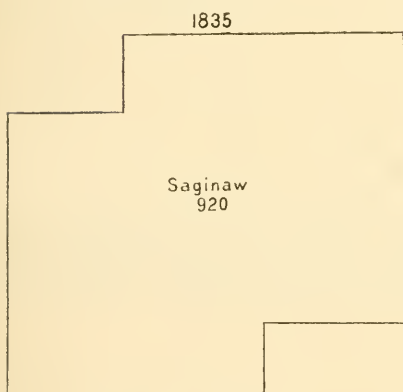
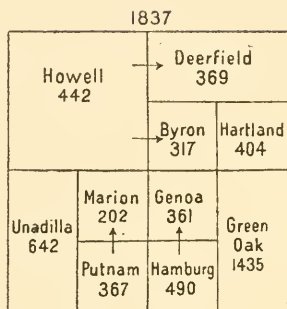
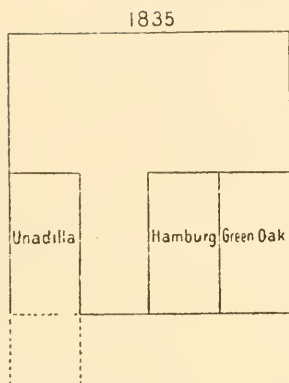
KENT COUNTY

GENESEE COUNTY

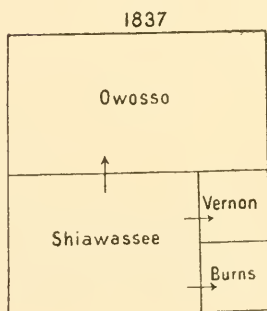


LAPEER COUNTY

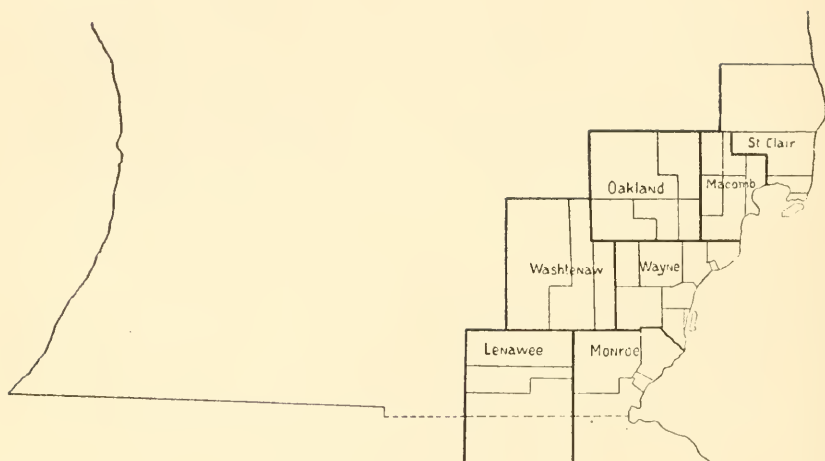
LIVINGSTON COUNTY



SAGINAW COUNTY

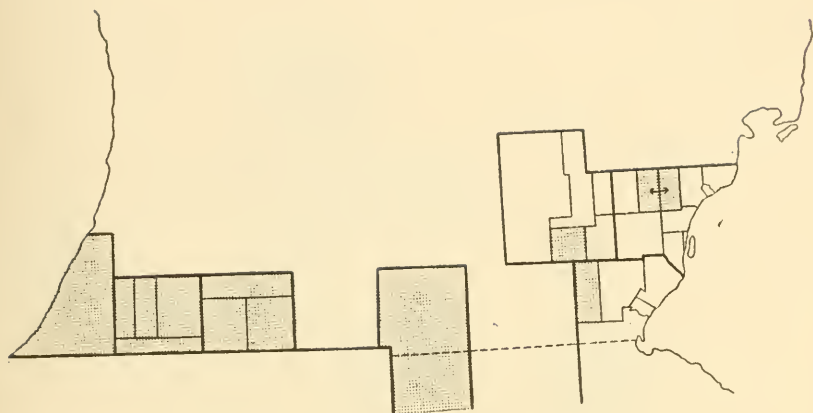


SHIAWASSEE COUNTY



TOWNSHIPS ORGANIZED IN 1827

Previous to the general organization of townships in 1827 (*Territorial Laws*, II, 479, 587), townships were "set off" by proclamation of Governor Cass in Monroe County in 1817 (*Territorial Laws*, I, 323), and in Wayne County in 1818 (*Territorial Laws*, II, 793). As organized in 1827, Pontiac Township in Oakland County included also territory now in Shiawassee, Saginaw and Lapeer counties (*Territorial Laws*, II, 477). Dexter Township, in Washtenaw County, included also a large area westward, until the organization of townships in Jackson County (*Territorial Laws*, II, 479).



TOWNSHIPS ORGANIZED IN 1829, DATA:

Berrien County, *Territorial Laws*, II, 786.

Cass County, *Ibid.*, II, 786. Penn township included the county of Van Buren and all that territory lying north which, with Van Buren, was attached to Cass County for judicial purposes.

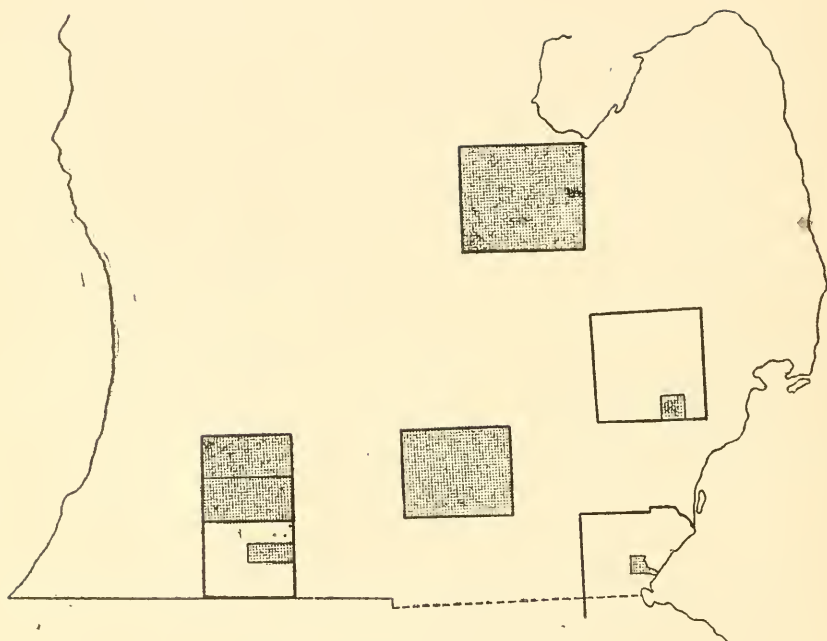
Hillsdale County, *Ibid.*, II, 787.

Monroe County, *Ibid.*, II, 720. The name of "Flumen" township was changed to Summerfield the same year (*Territorial Laws*, II, 763).

St. Joseph County, *Ibid.*, II, 786-787.

Washtenaw County, *Ibid.*, II, 712.

Wayne County, *Ibid.*, II, 737. A slight change in the boundary between Hamtramck and Springwells affecting the "Ten Thousand Acre Tract" was made in 1831 (*Ibid.*, III, 900).



TOWNSHIPS ORGANIZED IN 1830. DATA:

Jackson County, *Territorial Laws*, III, 839

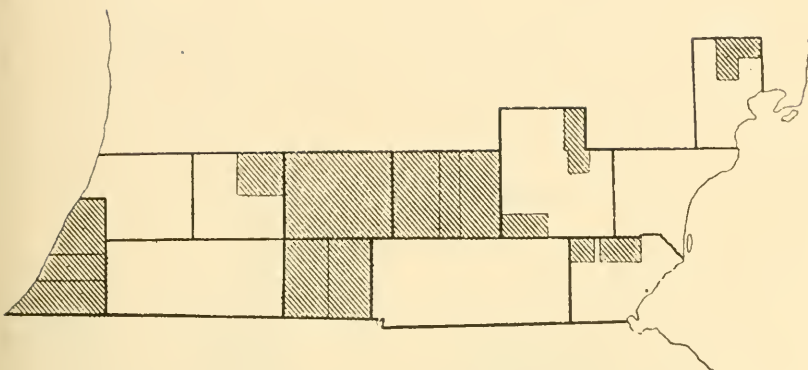
Kalamazoo County, *Ibid.*, III, 839, 840

Monroe County, *Ibid.*, III, 843. Apparently there was some difficulty with this Act, which was confirmed by an Act of March 4, 1831 (T. L. III, 907).

Oakland County, *Ibid.*, III, 818, 833

Saginaw County, *Ibid.*, III, 818. This township was made co-extensive with the county as laid out Sept. 10, 1822 (T. L., I, 334). The area was diminished March 2, 1831, by excluding the two northwest townships (T. L., III, 872)

St. Joseph County, *Ibid.*, III, 826



TOWNSHIPS ORGANIZED IN 1832

Berrien County, *Territorial Laws*, III, 920. The middle township, Berrien, contained a tier of surveyed towns plus two tiers of sections above. The error in the Act organizing the northern township, St. Joseph, is corrected in *Ibid.*, III, 1249

Branch County, *Ibid.*, III, 949. The name of the western township, Prairie River, was changed to "Green" in 1833 (*Ibid.*, III, 1260)

Calhoun County, *Ibid.*, III, 972

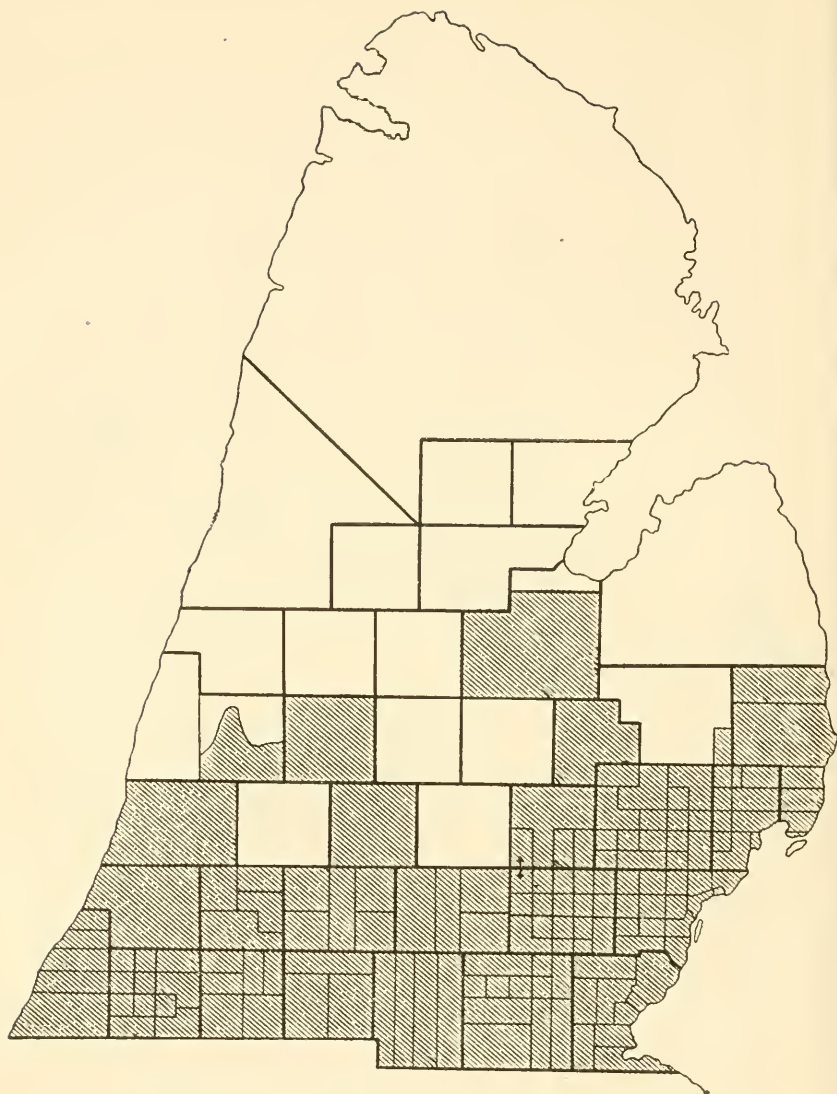
Jackson County, *Ibid.*, III, 948, 957. In 1831 the name of the middle township, Jacksonopolis, was changed to "Jacksonburg" (*Ibid.*, III, 866).

Kalamazoo County, *Ibid.*, III, 972

Macomb County, *Ibid.*, III, 926

Monroe County, *Ibid.*, III, 921. It was apparently the intention of the framers of this Act to include in London Township at the north the small strip which cuts it in two—a tier of sections in T5S, R8E. See *Ibid.*, III, 1276

Washtenaw County, *Ibid.*, III, 925, 928



The outlines of the Lower Peninsula and of the county boundaries are taken from The Tourist's Pocket Map of Michigan (Phila. 1835), and upon this map are projected the township boundaries as they were in 1835. The townships of 1835, without exception, were made not later than March, and hence do not represent any considerable immigration beyond 1834. Approximately therefore the map may be taken to represent the relative distribution of population at the end of 1834, with allowance particularly for increase in Jackson and St. Joseph counties.

Data for township organization in 1835:

Berrien County, *Territorial Laws*, III, 1368

Calhoun County, *Ibid.*, III, 1368

Cass County, *Ibid.*, III, 1368

Eaton County, *Ibid.*, III, 1367

Hillsdale County, *Ibid.*, III, 1367

Lenawee County, *Ibid.*, III, 1367

Livingston County, *Ibid.*, III, 1368, 1404. The southwestern township, Unadilla, included one government township in Washtenaw County.

Macomb County, *Ibid.*, III, 1368

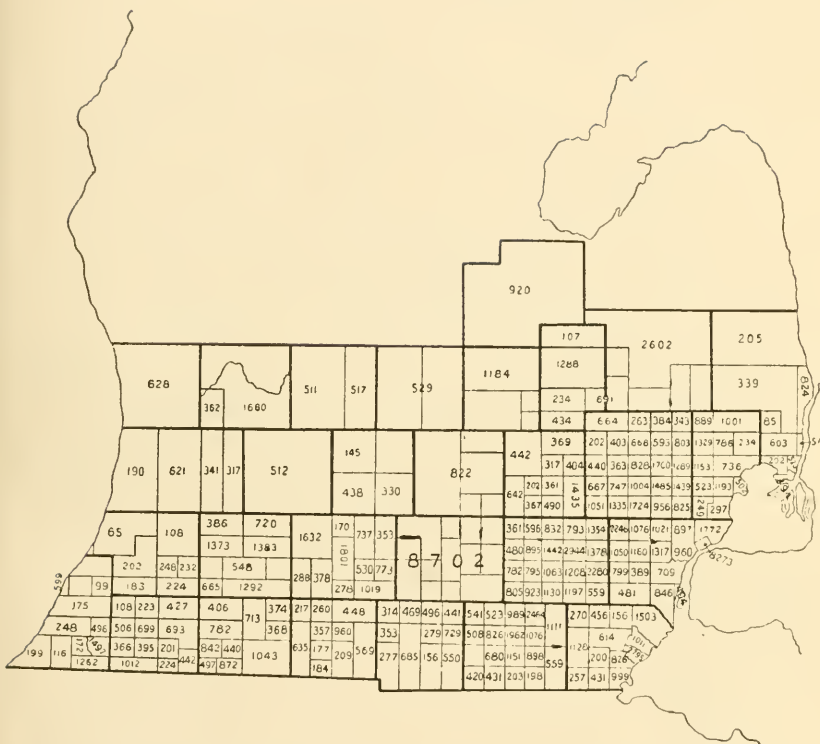
Oakland County, *Ibid.*, III, 1368, 1369, 1404, 1420

St. Clair County, *Ibid.*, III, 1368

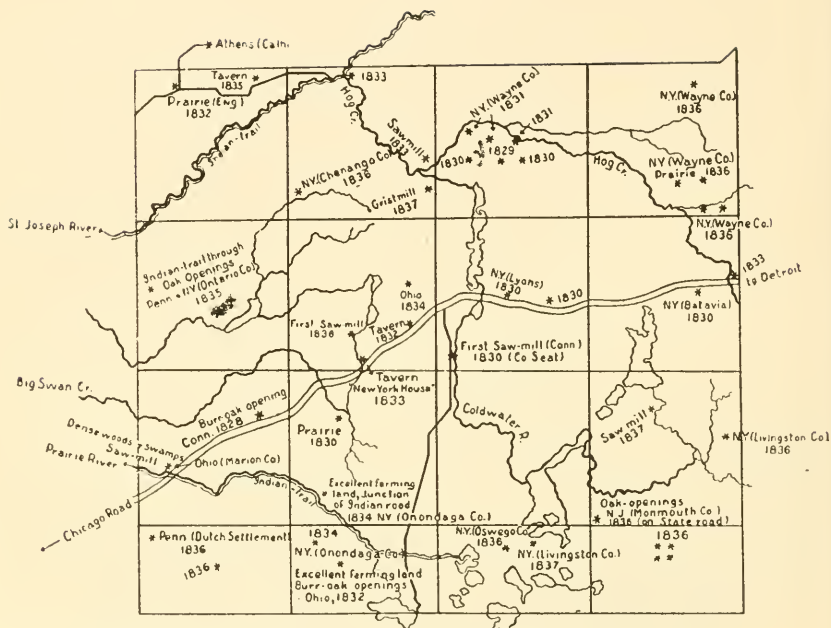
Van Buren County, *Ibid.*, III, 1403

Washtenaw County, *Ibid.*, III, 1404

Wayne County, *Ibid.*, III, 1359, 1368



CENSUS OF ORGANIZED TOWNSHIPS OF SOUTHERN MICHIGAN WHEN THE STATE WAS ADMITTED TO THE UNION (1837)

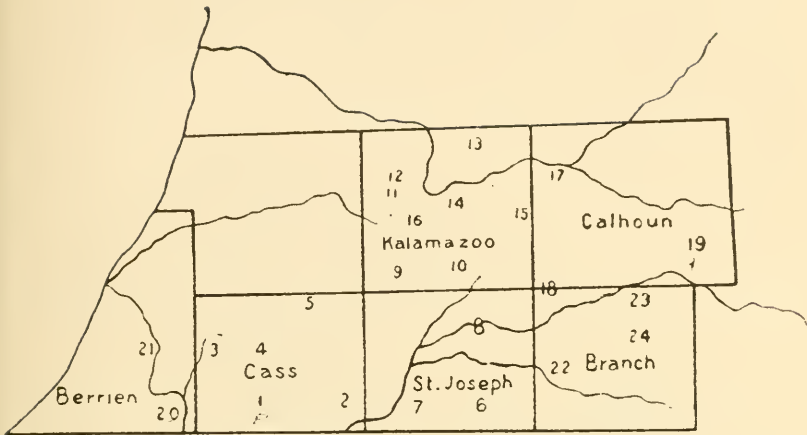


Sher-wood	Union	Girard	Butler
Mall-ison	Batavia	Cold-water	Quincy
Branson	Bethel	Ovid	Algan-see
Noble	Gilead	Under-hoos	Cal-forma

Key to townships

Showing the influence of Chicago road on settlement in Branch Co.

The outline and drainage shown on this map are taken from Tackabury's *Atlas of Michigan*, p. 112. The courses of roads and trails are taken from Collin's *History of Branch County*, as are also the data for settlement. It will be observed that nearly all settlements which were made previous to 1835 were made on or very near the Chicago Road. The exceptions in the north illustrate the influence of Dry and Coccoosh prairies, and in the south that of the oak openings. Where obtainable, the sources of the settlers are given.



SMALL PRAIRIES IN SOUTHWESTERN MICHIGAN

Cass County.

1. Beardsley's prairie—Edwardsburg (*Hist. Cass County*, 45, 120)
2. Baldwin's prairie—Union (*Ibid.*, 125)
3. Pokagon prairie—Pokagon (*Ibid.*, 40)
4. La Grange prairie—La Grange (*Ibid.*, 46)
5. Little Prairie Ronde—(*Ibid.*, 51)

St. Joseph County.

6. Sturgis prairie—Sturgis (*Hist. St. Joseph County*)
7. White Pigeon prairie—White Pigeon (*Ibid.*, 61; *M. H. C.*, XVIII, 223)
8. Nottawa prairie (*M. H. C.*, VI, 424)

Kalamazoo County.

9. Big Prairie Ronde—Schoolcraft (*M. H. C.*, III, 360)
10. Gourd-neck prairie—Vicksburg.
11. Genesee prairie (*M. H. C.*, XVIII, 598)
12. Grand prairie (*M. H. C.*, XVIII, 596; *Hist. Kal. Co.*, 407)
13. Gull prairie (*M. H. C.*, I, 207)
14. Toland's prairie (*M. H. C.*, V, 359, 360; II, 159; *Hist. Kal. Co.*, 351)
15. Climax prairie (*Hist. Kal. Co.*, 324-5)
16. Dry prairie

Calhoun County.

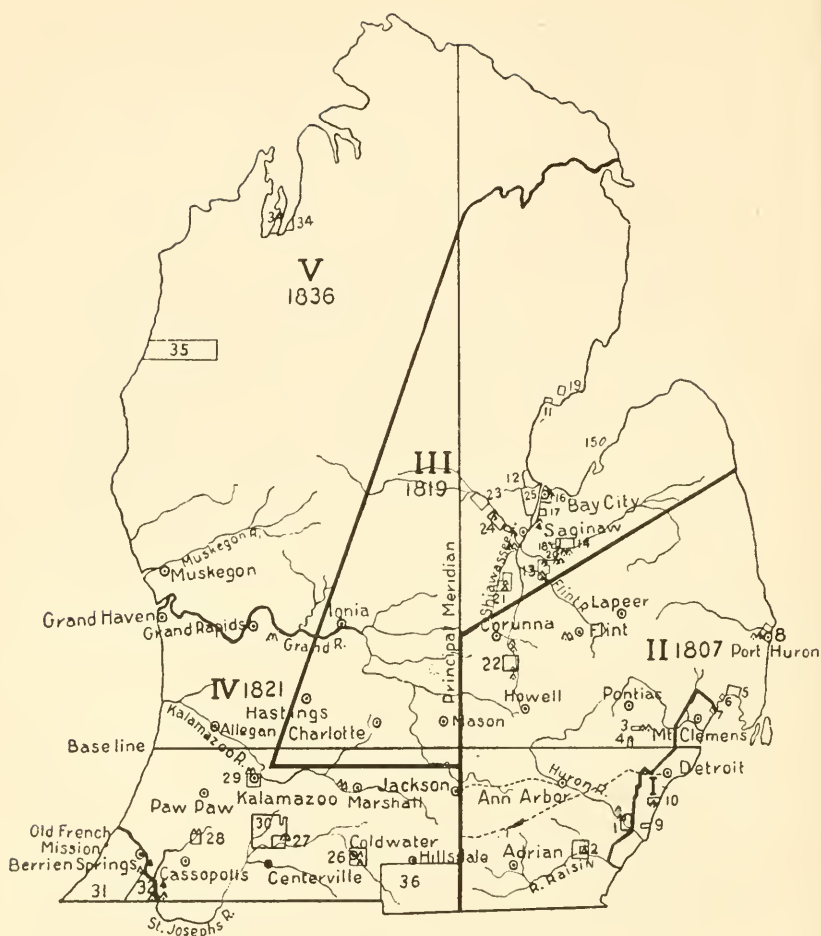
17. Goguac prairie (*M. H. C.*, III, 347; *Hist. Cal. Co.*, 80)
18. Dry prairie (*M. H. C.*, II, 209; *Hist. Cal. Co.*, 116)
19. Cook's prairie (*Hist. Cal. Co.*, 134)

Berrien County.

20. Portage prairie (*Hist. Berrien Co.*, 208)
21. Wolf's prairie (*Ibid.*, 198)

Branch County.

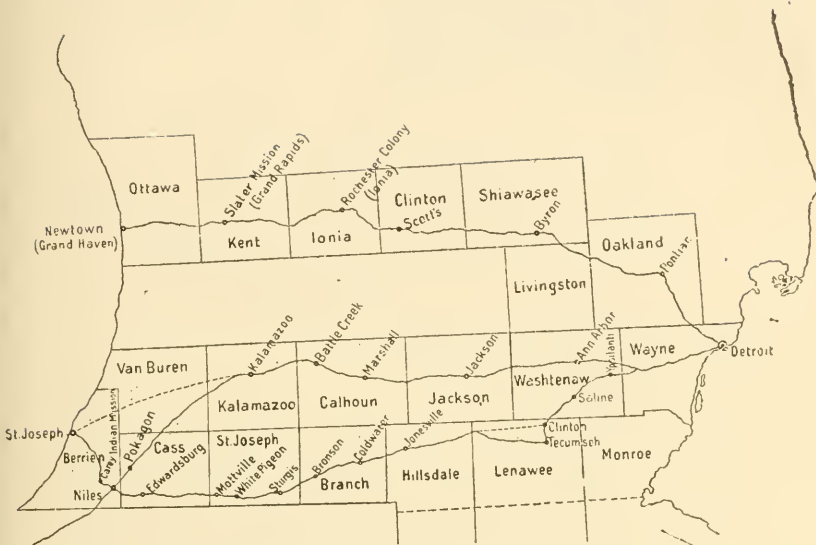
22. Bronson's prairie (*M. H. C.*, VI, 217; XVIII, 609)
23. Cocosh prairie (*M. H. C.*, VI, 219; *Hist. Branch County*, 74)
24. Coldwater prairie (*Hist. Branch County*, 26)



INDIAN LAND CESSIONS, 1795-1837

See Appendix for description of cessions:

- | | |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| I—(1795), p. 520 | 17.—p. 523 |
| II—(1807), p. 520 | 18.—p. 523 |
| III—(1819), p. 522 | 19.—p. 523 |
| IV—(1821), p. 524 | 20.—p. 523 |
| V—(1836), p. 527 | 21.—p. 523 |
| 2.—(1817), p. 522; (1827), p. 525 | 22.—p. 524 |
| 3.—(1827), p. 525 | 23.—p. 524 |
| 4.—(1827), p. 525 | 24.—p. 524 |
| 5.—(1836), p. 529 | 25.—p. 524 |
| 6.—(1836), p. 529 | 26.—(1821), p. 525, 526 |
| 7.—(1836), p. 529 | 27.—(1821), p. 525; (1828), p. 527; (1833), p. 527 |
| 8.—(1836), p. 529 | 28.—(1821), p. 526 |
| 9.—(1809), p. 521; (1818), p. 522 | 29.—(1821), p. 526 |
| 10.—(1809), p. 521; (1818), p. 522 | 30.—(1827), p. 526; (1833), p. 527 |
| 11.—p. 523 | 31.—(1828), p. 526 |
| 12.—p. 523 | 32.—(1832), p. 526; (1833), p. 527 |
| 13.—p. 523 | 34.—(1836), p. 528 |
| 14.—p. 523 | 35.—(1836), p. 528 |
| 15.—p. 523 | 36.—(1817), p. 521 |
| 16.—p. 523 | |



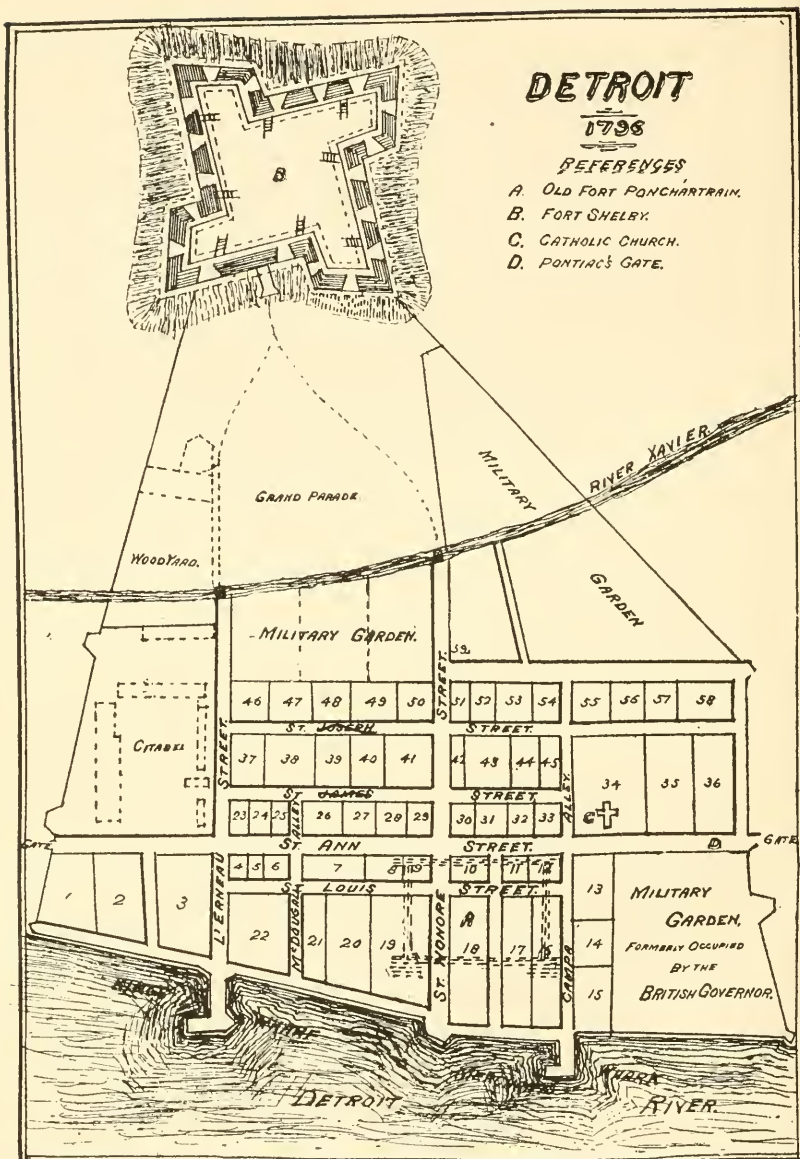
TRANS-TERRITORIAL ROUTES OF TRAVEL

The solid lines indicate the stage routes, probably of 1834, as mapped in *The Tourist's Pocket Map* (Phila., 1835). Deviations from the roads as the roads appear to have been authorized by statutes, or as they were actually surveyed, are marked by dotted lines. At intervals along the first settlements are indicated.

The line farthest south shows the Chicago Road, authorized in 1825 (*Stat. at Large*, IV, 135). As surveyed, it did not pass through Tecumseh (See plate cxxxviii in the Bureau of American Ethnology, 18th ann. report, pt. 2). The settlements given are those first made along its route.

The middle line shows the stage route through the Kalamazoo Valley, deviating in its western course from the route apparently intended for the Territorial Road authorized in 1829 (*Territorial Laws*, II, 744).

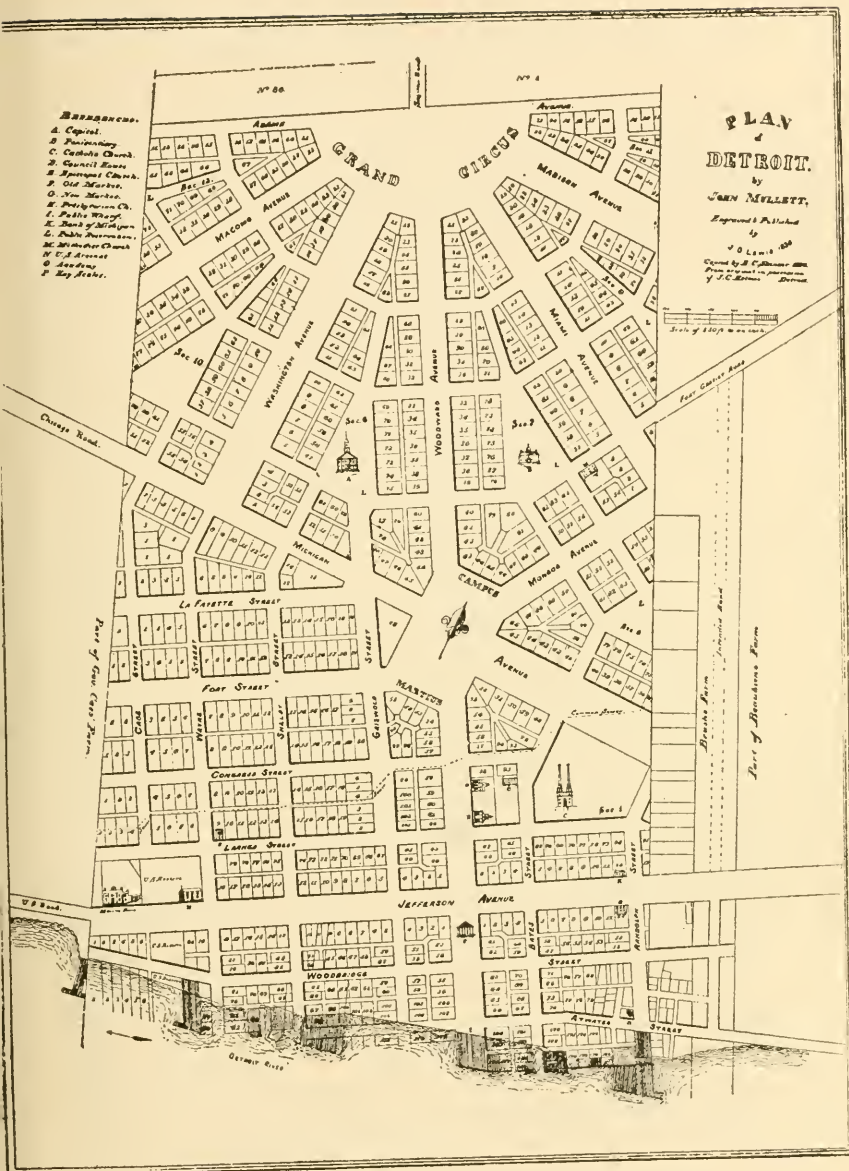
The northern line shows the Grand River stage route. According to statute the Grand River Road, authorized in 1832 (*Stat. at Large*, IV, 560) was to be surveyed through "Sciawasee." The Ionia colony seems to have used a route that far north in 1833 (*M. H. C.*, XXVIII, 145) apparently the one shown.



DETROIT IN 1796

(Burton's Building of Detroit, 21)

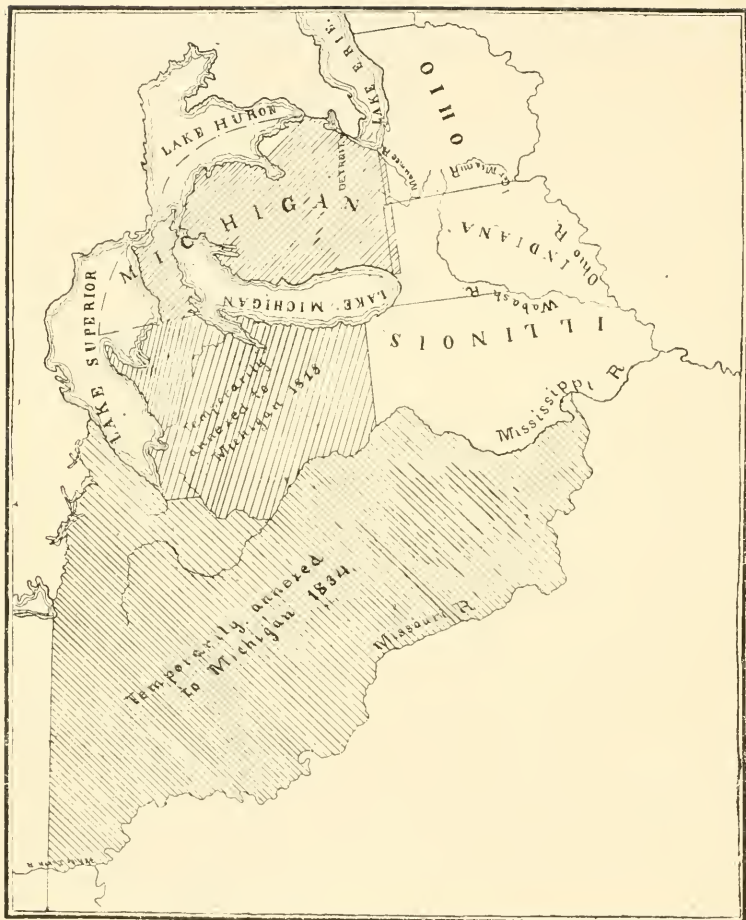
This wood cut was published in the *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune* for Sept. 11, 1871. The sketch from which it was made is said to have been originally drafted from "an old map of the city" by Thomas Smith, a Detroit surveyor, and engraved for Ralph Smith, a real estate dealer of Detroit. The original appears to have been lost. See pp. 120-123.



GOVERNOR AND JUDGES PLAN OF DETROIT, 1830

(Burton's Building of Detroit, 31)

This map was drafted by John Mullett and engraved by J. O. Lewis of Detroit. An original copy is in the Detroit Public Library. See p. 136.



TERRITORY OVER WHICH THE JURISDICTION OF MICHIGAN EXTENDED

IN 1805, 1816, AND 1834

(*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXVII, 348)



MAP OF BOUNDARY LINE DISPUTED WITH OHIO

(Mich. Hist. Colls., XXVII, 350)



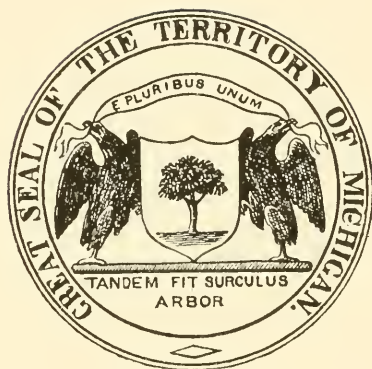
SEAL OF DETROIT

(*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXX, 337)



SEAL OF NORTH WEST TERRITORY

(*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXX, 323)



GREAT SEAL OF THE TERRITORY OF MICHIGAN

(*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXX, 326)

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL BEGINNINGS OF MICHIGAN

CHAPTER I

PHYSICAL CONDITIONS

THE close relation between history and geography can hardly be better stated than in the words of a well-known writer, that "all historical problems ought to be studied geographically and all geographic problems must be studied historically."¹ In an account of the settlement of Michigan, therefore, some attention must be given to those geographic and geologic forces by which the process has been partially conditioned.

In geographic location, the most important single geographic condition,² Michigan is specially favored. On the south the lower peninsula reaches to latitude 41°69', on the east to longitude 82°40';³ it is therefore a little southeast of the geographic center of the continent and within range of glaciation; to this is due

1. Semple, *Influences of Geographic Environment*, 11.

2. *Ibid.*, 129.

3. Walling, *Atlas of Michigan* (Detroit, 1873), cited *infra* as Tackabury's *Atlas*. The latitude of Detroit is about the same as that of Albany and Boston.

very largely its topography, drainage and soil. Its latitude favors a climate somewhat like that of New York and New England, but so modified by the Great Lakes as to present some striking differences. Position, moreover, has been a factor in determining the fauna and flora. The population and institutions of Michigan would have been other than they are had the land been differently situated. Midway on the northern boundary of the United States, Michigan was easily reached from Canada, New York and New England, and on the south from Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky and Tennessee. The tendency of population in the United States to move westward along parallels of latitude, early strengthened in this region by Lake Erie and later by the Erie Canal, conspired to transplant to Michigan the traditions, institutions and ideals of New York and New England.⁴ Michigan's situation within the arms of great fresh-water seas aided settlement by facilitating transportation and laying the foundations of the fishing industry, of ship building and of lake commerce.

The effect of Michigan's position upon its climate is modified by the Great Lakes through the agency of the prevailing westerly winds, which equalize the temperature and provide an amount of rain and snow that help to give variety to the fauna and flora, to lengthen the growing period for vegetation, and to protect the tenderer flora from the extremes of heat and cold. The resulting healthfulness, with respect to those diseases

4. An interesting result in institutional life is the Michigan town-meeting, which has the powers of the New England town-meeting, but the organization of the New York county board.

which accompany extremes of temperature, has been of much consequence to settlement. It was pointed out by Alexander Winchell that these characteristics of southern Michigan climate were the distinctive features of superiority possessed by Michigan in comparison with her neighbors.⁵

The relation of Lake Michigan and the westerly winds to this climate is easily understood. The lake contains about 3,400 cubic miles of water, extending along the entire western side of the lower peninsula, with an average width of about sixty miles and a maximum depth of about a thousand feet. This great volume of water becomes a reservoir of heat comparatively constant in amount, since the water, not being as good a conductor of heat as the land, acquires its warmth slowly and slowly gives it forth. The air over the peninsula is made comparatively uniform in temperature through the medium of evaporation into the westerly winds which blow over the lake in all seasons modifying their temperature from its waters.

How great is this influence may be seen from a comparative statement.⁶ Milwaukee and Grand Haven have approximately the same latitude: on November 18, 1880, when the temperature was 5 degrees Fahr.

5. *Tenth Annual Report of the State Horticultural Soc. of Michigan* (1880), 155.

6. The modifying effect of the Great Lakes is discussed by C. F. Schneider in a report on *Surface Geology and Agricultural Conditions of the Southern Peninsula of Michigan* made by Frank Leverett, *Mich. Geol. and Biol. Survey*, Publication 9, Geological Series 7 (1912), 28-32. Two plates (pp. 30, 31) show January and July mean temperatures from 1886 to 1911.

above freezing at Milwaukee it was 18 degrees at Grand Haven on the Michigan shore.⁷ It was found that extreme cold at Grand Haven for a series of winters was fourteen degrees less than at Milwaukee.⁸ In the number of days of growing weather, a factor very significant for the tenderer vegetation, Grand Haven has been found to gain over Milwaukee thirteen days in spring and five in autumn, a condition that is chiefly responsible for the Michigan fruit belt.⁹ The entire western shore of the peninsula shares in varying degree this comparative mildness of temperature and freedom from early frosts for a distance of from five to ten miles inland. On May 16, 1868, a frost which was destructive in Illinois, Indiana and Ohio did no damage in the Michigan fruit belt as far north as Grand Traverse Bay.¹⁰ Extreme winter weather on the southern shore of the lake at New Buffalo, Berrien County, averages about twelve degrees higher than a

7. *Mich. Horticultural Soc. Rep.* (1880), 158.

8. *Ibid.*, 163.

9. *Ibid.*, 161. See Leverett, *op. cit.*, 39-41, for plates giving the average date of the last killing-frost in spring and the first killing-frost in autumn for a series of years, also the average length of the crop-growing season. The *Detroit Gazette*, March 27, 1818, comments on the very cold summer of 1816 and resultant destruction of crops; killing-frosts are said to have occurred every month during the summer. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXVIII, 358. The relation of the climate and soil of the western shore to fruit growing is well considered in the *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties*, 118-126, with references.

10. *Mich. Horticultural Soc. Rep.*, (1880), 160. The *Detroit Free Press*, in an editorial of May 6, 1836, directed the attention of immigrants to the northern part of the State, affirming that the climate was not colder at Mackinac than in New York.

little way around the shore at Chicago.¹¹ These conditions are illustrated by the isotherms of extreme minimum and extreme maximum temperatures, which run almost north and south along nearly the whole western shore of the peninsula.¹²

These contrasts hold, though to a less marked degree, for the interior of the peninsula. A series of records taken when the average July temperature was 68.8 degrees Fahr. at Grand Haven shows the thermometer averaging 72 degrees for Grand Rapids and 72.3 degrees for Ionia.¹³ The eastern shores of Michigan were influenced in a similar manner.¹⁴ Flora native to Ohio and central Illinois are found liberally distributed over the southern half of the peninsula.¹⁵ It was Winchell's judgment that the seasonal temperatures of Michigan, if carefully regarded, would permit its people to raise all of the products suited to the climate of Kentucky, Missouri and Northern Texas.¹⁶

11. *Mich. Horticultural Soc. Rep.*, (1880), 163.

12. Tackabury's *Atlas*, 46.

13. See *Mich. Geological Survey Rep.*, (1901), 83-84, for average temperatures by months for west-central Michigan between the latitudes of White Cloud and Allegan.

14. See charts of seasonal isotherms of Michigan in Tackabury's *Atlas*, 45-46, and in the sixth annual report of the State Board of Health (1878), and in the *Sixth Annual Report of the State Board of Health* (1878), 194, 197. *Mich. Geological Rep.* (1900), Part I, 101-105, gives detailed climatic data for Monroe County. In "The Climate of Detroit" (*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 367-383) Bela Hubbard gives an excellent description of climatic conditions in southern Michigan, and compares them with those of New York and New England.

15. *Mich. Horticultural Soc. Rep.* (1880), 429.

16. *Ibid.*, 163. See Winchell, *Sparks from a Geologist's Hammer*, 200-233, for general climatic conditions in the region of the Great Lakes; also Mark S. W. Jefferson, *Geography of Michigan*, 29-39.

Among the additional influences affecting Michigan's climate are topography, rainfall and the forests. The undulating surface, presenting slightly unequal elevations, operates to prevent frosts by keeping the air in motion on hillsides. A difference of a hundred feet in elevation may make a difference on a clear cold night of many degrees in temperature.¹⁷ If this had been understood by the early settlers of Michigan it would have led them to choose the hillsides for their orchards instead of the lower level lands, and would have saved them many a crop of fruit. Evaporation from the surface of interior lakes and streams has tended to moderate temperature, and the forests have affected the supply of moisture. The average precipitation in Michigan, including both rain and snow, is about thirty inches;¹⁸ less snow than falls in the same latitude of New York and New England but more rainfall, owing to the shorter winter and longer summer.¹⁹

These are climatic conditions that favor health. Michigan's average mean annual temperature of 46 degrees Fahr. falls within the zone of greatest health, which ranges from 45 degrees to 60 degrees. The moderate lake winds, tempering the winters,²⁰ are

17. *Resources of Michigan* (1893), 42.

18. *Mich. Horticultural Soc. Rep.* (1880), 429.

19. See for winter, summer and annual precipitation, Tackabury's *Atlas*, 49; *Mich. Geol. Survey Rep.* (1901), 83-84; *Mich. State Board of Health Rep.* (1878), 194; Schneider, in *Michigan Geological and Biol. Survey*, Pub. 9, Geol. Series 7, pp. 35, 38, 42, 43, 47.

20. There have been, of course, many exceptions to the general moderation of winter and summer. One exceedingly cold winter, with deep snows, occurred in 1842-43, when there was much suffering; roads were impassable, stock was lost, and game perished. *History of Berrien and Van*

unfavorable to all diseases of the lungs and mucous linings of throat and nose; while the same agencies, cooling the summer's heat, are unfavorable to all diseases common to high temperatures. The configuration of the surface favored the health of settlers, by insuring a complete system of lively streams flowing to the Great Lakes. Good drainage, combined with porous drift formations, insured an abundance of pure drinking water in numerous springs and wells. Michigan's pine forests, producing ozone and favoring greater purity of air by decomposing the products of decay, were early regarded as "the western haven for consumptives,"²¹ Blois says in his *Gazetteer* (1838), that Michigan was reported by immigrants to be healthier than central Ohio, Indiana and Illinois,²² and adduces evidence from animals slaughtered for the Detroit market to show that animal life in Michigan was less subject to liver complaints than in Ohio by chances of seven to one.²³ He found no evidence of an original case of consumption among the white settlers of Michigan, but many instances of relief obtained by immigrants.²⁴

21. A. C. McLaughlin, *History of Higher Education in Michigan*, (Washington, 1891), 12; *Mich. State Board of Health Rep.* (1878), 208.

22. Blois, *Gazetteer of Michigan*, (New York, 1838), 126.

23. *Ibid.*, 127.

24. *Ibid.*, 126. The United States statistics of 1870, however, show about the same per cent of pulmonary consumption

Buren Counties (Phila., 1880), 345; *Mich. Joint Documents* (1844), No. 52, p. 6. Curiously enough, that severe winter was preceded by three winters whose mildness is said to have caused much favorable comment when comparing weather conditions in Michigan with those in New England. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXI, 211.

Yet in the days of early settlement, the idea was prevalent in the East that Michigan's climate was not healthful.²⁵ This idea was probably due, partly, to the tradition that the interior of Michigan was very swampy; but it was due more largely to reports of the actual sickness among the early settlers from malarial diseases. The pioneers themselves explained the "fever and ague" as consequent upon the natural conditions of pioneering.²⁶ According to their theory, the plowing of the land, which turned up decayed vegetation to the direct rays of the sun poisoned the air, and they noted that up to a certain point "fever and ague" spread in proportion as settlement advanced. On the other hand, as the whole of a large area became cleared up the disease tended to disappear. The disease was more often annoying than fatal, attacking settlers in the season when they most needed to be well. It was observed to come on with the spring plowing and to last until the first frost in the fall, and there were few who were not troubled with "fever and ague" at some time during that period. In 1840 in the township of Commerce, one of the best settled townships in Oakland County, "the various dwellings within the bounds of the afflicted region were one vast series of hospitals"²⁷—the white population of the county was then

25. *Ibid.*, 125.

26. See end of this chapter for notice of the mosquito as a carrier of disease.

27. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XIV, 427.

in Michigan as in central Ohio, southern New York, southern Vermont, western Massachusetts and Connecticut, Maryland, eastern Virginia and northern Indiana, which caused between fourteen and twenty per cent of all deaths in Michigan.

23,590, and this township, then of its present size, had nearly a thousand people.²⁸ Weight seemed to be given to this pioneer theory by the fact that the good natural drainage of the county favored the rapid decrease of the disease as the county grew older and as drainage came to receive more attention from public law.

Hoffman, a traveler visiting Michigan in 1833 from New York, expresses this theory. He regarded it as a wonder that a majority of the settlers should escape with their lives. He deplored the fact that the anxiety of new settlers to have a crop the first year should induce them to plow up in June a soil "reeking with vegetable decomposition," and allow it "to steam up for months under their very nostrils." He mentions others settling near marshes for the sake of the wild hay and drinking the water from the marsh streams or from wells into which marsh-water percolated. A law of the Territory forbade the flooding of green timber when constructing mill ponds, because it was held so pernicious to health as to affect the value of property near the pond.²⁹ Hoffman observes that settlers repeatedly violated this law in their anxiety to have mills at once.

The position, climate and local environment of Michigan influenced vitally the extent, variety and distribution of the forests, fruits, grasses and wild animals

28. *Michigan Territorial Laws*, III, 1275; *U. S. Census* (1840), 445.

29. Hoffman, *A Winter in the West*, I, 193. For material bearing on the early theory of malarious diseases, see *Mich. State Board of Health Rep.* (1878), 209. The law referred to is found in *Territorial Laws*, II, 690.

useful to the settlers. These were results closely bound up also with topography, drainage and soil; to present them intelligibly involves a reference to at least the larger aspects of the formation and structure of the peninsula. In Michigan's geological history the three great facts are the deposition of the pre-pleistocene rocks in the preglacial seas, the erosion of these and covering with the glacial drift of rock and soil, and the subsequent erosion, weathering and mixture of these materials with decayed vegetation. The bedrocks have their most obvious significance for settlement in their arrangement and elevation; they govern the distribution of minerals throughout the peninsula and materially affect its topography and soil.

The arrangement of the bedrocks of the southern peninsula is simple. They have been often compared to a series of basins lying one within the other, successively shallower towards the one at the center.³⁰ At the center of the peninsula lie the "fossil swamplands" of the coal basin, covering nearly a fifth of its area;³¹ and circling about this lie the rims of other basins varying in width and cropping out in places through the overlying soil.³² In most of the peninsula these rocks average in elevation not more than two hundred feet above the level of the surrounding lakes, reaching their highest elevation in the southern part

30. See the geological map of the lower peninsula in *Mich. Geol. Survey. Rep.*, III, Part I, and in Tackabury's *Atlas*, 38-39. See for discussion also the fourth report of the State Geologist in *Senate Document* (1841), No. 16, 137.

31. *Mich. Geol. Survey, Rep.*, VIII, 234.

32. For rock contours, see plate II, in *Mich. Geol. and Biol. Survey*, Pub. 9, Geol. Series 7, opposite p. 18.

of the peninsula at the northern and southern extremities of the southeastern divide, in the counties of Oakland and Hillsdale.³³

Their minerals are various and widely distributed.³⁴ Those most important for early settlement were salt and materials for buildings and roads. The use of salt in the chemical industries, for soda-ash, bitterns, etc., was not significant until a later period of settlement, but its common household and farm use was important, almost imperative. The necessity of salt for comfortable living is emphasized in the salt taxes of many governments, and its economic importance and supposed abundance in Michigan appears to have been a very strong influence in motivating the first Michigan geological survey expedition.³⁵ Salt is commonly found in Michigan in brine wells and springs contained in the argillaceous strata, depending on the degree of subdivision; it appears in great abundance in the Saginaw country. Salt streams and salt licks were

33. *Sixth Rep. Mich. Acad. of Science*, 104.

34. There is a good brief discussion of the several formations with reference to their economic products in *Mich. Geol. Survey Rep.*, IX, Part II, 13-36.

35. The first geological expedition (1837) was made into the Saginaw region to examine the salt springs, an account of which is given in *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 189-201. The larger part of Houghton's report on the brine springs of this region (1838) is in Lanman's *History of Michigan*, 354-363. Note the emphasis upon salt in the early State Geological reports in *House Document* (1839), No. 2, 39-45; *House Document* (1840), No. 2, (I), 18-23; *Joint Document* (1841), No. 5, 235-254; *House Document* (1842), No. 2, 15-21; *Senate Document* (1843), No. 9, 402-408; see *Mich. Geol. Survey Rep.*, *Mineral Resources* (1912), pp. 315-336, for bibliography of the Michigan salt industry.

not uncommon, and in some cases they appear to have influenced settlement directly; a French settlement in southern Macomb County is said to have been induced by the ease of obtaining salt at the mouth of Saline creek;³⁶ the site of Saline in Washtenaw, on Saline River, was the site of an extensive deer-lick.³⁷ Salt was not manufactured on a commercial scale in Michigan until much later than this period.³⁸

Clay, sand and gravel, though formed and distributed by glacial action, have their sources in the bed-rock. They make excellent building and road materials and are almost everywhere abundant. A pure clay surface, or one in which clay is largely predominant, is likely to produce muddy roads and streets. Of this character were the roads leading from the eastern shore to the interior and the impediment they offered to settlement was one of the strong influences that led to the early introduction of the railway.³⁹ The report that the citizens of Detroit commonly had to cross the streets in the wet season on horseback is probably no great exaggeration.⁴⁰ Heavy roads of clear sand were the opposite extreme on the western shore. The prevailing condition in the interior, however, is a mixture of clay and sand, which the settlers by aid of abundant gravel could fashion into excellent thoroughfares. Sand was early used for glass manu-

36. *History of Macomb County* (Chicago, 1882), 142.

37. *History of Washtenaw County* (Chicago, 1881), 1369, 1373.

38. Not until 1860, and not profitably until much later; but in these deposits there was the possibility, now realized, of supplying one-fourth of the sale in the United States. *Mich. Geol. Survey Rep.* (1901), 135.

39. See Lenawee County, in chapter IV, this volume.

40. See Detroit, in chapter III, this volume.

facture at Monroe and Mt. Clemens; and brick, though apparently not of the best quality, was early made at Detroit.

Sandstone, from which the clays, sands and gravels are mainly derived is distributed in two wide rims, one immediately about the coal measures, the source of the beds along Sandstone creek in Jackson County;⁴¹ a second in a much wider circle furnished the quarries at Jonesville, Napoleon, Battle Creek and Marshall.⁴² A thin rim of carbonaceous limestone circles between these sandstone areas, but its outcrops are very limited. Ledges of this rock form the rapids at Grand Rapids.⁴⁴ The principal limestone area is the wide rim outcropping in Monroe and Wayne counties; it forms the rapids in the Raisin at Monroe and the beds of many rivers.⁴⁵ The boulders, of glacial origin, have in late years been much used for building.

Coal and gypsum were but slightly exploited in the early period of settlement and hence, though today they are of very great importance, they can properly receive here only passing notice. Lying under a cloak of glacial and lake deposits, the coal basin covers a central area of about seven thousand square miles, estimated to contain some eight billion tons of coal.⁴⁶ The extensive gypsum beds of Kent County form the

41. Lanman, *History of Michigan*, 348-351.

42. Blois, *Gazetteer* (New York, 1839), 39.

44. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 292; *Mich. House Doc.* (1840), No. 5, p. 42.

45. Blois, 349.

46. *Mich. Geol. Survey Rep.* (1901), 127. For the mode of occurrence and quality of Michigan coal, see *Ibid.*, VIII, Part II, (nine plates and colored map showing area of deposit); also Smith, *Mineral Resources* (1912), 257-303.

important plaster industry near Grand Rapids.⁴⁷ Mineral springs were early observed; one of sulphureted hydrogen in Monroe County is said to have furnished enough power to run a small mill.⁴⁸

The three principal soil types of the peninsula are determined by the relative predominance of sand, clay, and lime.⁴⁹ The rims of bedrock have by various agencies, principally those of glacial and water action, given their own character to the soils immediately above them, especially where they have come comparatively close to the surface. The outer rim of limestone underlying the eastern shore lands helps to give a distinctly calcareous soil to Wayne and Monroe counties.⁵⁰ The sandstone under the southeastern watershed and the western shore may be partly responsible for the sandy pine-bearing soil of Oakland, also of Saginaw and Ottawa counties, and of the northern part of the peninsula.⁵¹ Corresponding to the mixed rocks of the coal measures there is a corresponding variety in the soil.⁵²

The composition of the soil may be regarded from the point of view either of its mechanical or its chemical composition. Its mechanical composition is due largely to forces released by glacial action. In its chemical composition the bed rocks have a large share.

47. See "Michigan and the Plaster Industry," in *Mich. Geol. Survey Rep.* IX, Part II, (twenty-nine plates).

48. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 45, 232; Houghton's report, in Lanman's *Michigan*, 364-365.

49. Winchell, *Soils and Sub-soils*, 75.

50. Lanman, *Michigan*, 351; Winchell, *Soils and Sub-soils*, 79.

51. Winchell, *Soils and Sub-soils*, 78.

52. *Ibid.*, 76. The counties affected by each of these formations can be seen on the map in Tackabury's *Atlas*, 38-39.

The requisites to the fertility of the soil, while partly organic, are largely inorganic. The great bulk of it is composed of mineral substances derived from rock formations,⁵³ and of these the rocks of the southern peninsula furnished a large proportion of all but the alumina and potash,⁵⁴ which were derived from the mica and feldspar in the pre-Cambrian formations. Much of the sand came from the latter source—the quartzites, granites, syenites, and gneissoid rocks of regions north of the peninsula—traceable even to rocks as far north as Hudson Bay.

The transporting agents were the ancient continental glaciers. While there appears to be little agreement as to the cause, advance and retreat of these great ice masses, geologists concur as to the fact of the phenomenon, and that it affected in varying degree all of the northern continents.⁵⁵ As they advanced, scouring and grinding the rocks of the lower peninsula, the soil products were thoroughly mixed and spread in varying thickness over a surface worn down and smoothed.

The thickness of these glacial deposits average about three hundred feet. The greatest depth is not known.

53. Silica, alumina, lime, magnesia, oxide of iron, oxide of magnesia, potash, soda, chlorine, sulphuric acid, carbonic acid.

54. *Resources of Michigan* (Lansing, 1893), 40.

55. For theories of the advance and cause of the ice age, see Lane, "The Surface Geology of Michigan," in *Mich. Geol. Survey Rep.* (1907), 98-101. There is a good outline for the southern part of the peninsula in Leverett, "Glacial Geology of Southeastern Michigan," in *U. S. Geol. Survey* (1899), Monograph XXXVIII, 339-379, 386-406, 432-450. A good brief bibliography of the glacial history and deposits of Michigan is given by Leverett in the *Sixth Rep. Mich. Acad. of Science* (1904), 100-110.

Deep well borings have penetrated sixteen hundred feet and it is thought probable that they may reach an extreme depth of two thousand feet.⁵⁶ It would be expected from what has been said of the greatest elevation of the bed rocks, the soil would be thinnest on the glacial moraines, and that is found to be true; for example, in parts of Jackson and Hillsdale counties.⁵⁷

The fineness of these soils, their mechanical composition, is due obviously to forces introduced by glacial action, varying with the degree to which the rocks were broken up; and to the same agencies is due their mechanical distribution. The United States Bureau of Soil's scheme of soil classification for Michigan, based on mechanical composition, shows twenty varieties of soil varying from fine clay to the coarsest gravel, and the Michigan geological survey for 1907 has mapped the distribution of these under six principal groups.⁵⁸

56. *Mich. Geol. Survey Rep.* (1907), 101.

57. *Sixth Rep. Mich. Acad. of Science*, 103, 104. A special study has been made of soil depths in Monroe County, in *Mich. Geol. Survey Rep.*, VII, 192 (Contains contour map of various depths). The average thickness of the drift in the lower peninsula is about 300 feet. See Leverett's discussion in *Mich. Geol. and Biol. Survey*, Pub. 9, Geol. Series 7 (1912), 19-20.

58. For brief description of the soils of the State and their adaptability to agriculture, see *Mich. Geol. Survey Rep.* (1907), 115-119. Accompanying this is a soil map of the State prepared by J. F. Nellist (in pocket), based upon the twenty fine-soil divisions made by the U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, Bureau of Soils. The latter service has prepared soil maps of the vicinities of Owosso, Allegan, Alma, Pontiac, Saginaw and Cass counties. On this map, the glacial outwash aprons (represented by bright yellow) indicate the better class of sandy lands, fine sandy soils resulting directly from glacial over-wash or deposited in glacial lakes. They are widely distrib-

The general advantages of these soils are many and important. Some of them will be already apparent. Their great variety in both chemical and mechanical composition and the comparatively wide distribution of most of them, laid the basis for a wide range of flora and of rural industries. The wide distribution

uted but are most extensive in the south and west of the peninsula and along the crest of the southeastern divide above the bed-rock sandstone. The poorer sandy lands (light yellow), due mainly to glacial drainage, are found over the sandstone beds along the shore of Lake Michigan, also in narrow bands through the heavy clay along the eastern shore and around the head of Saginaw Bay. The soils of greatest extent are those of morainal origin. Both of the morainal soils cover a somewhat rolling and stony surface. That in which clay predominates (solid red) is distributed mainly in wide bands which mark the successive projections of the Saginaw and Huron ice lobes into the interior. The soil of similar character (stippled red) in which sand predominates is of looser texture and covers wide areas over the southern and central portions of the peninsula. The till plains (blue) have more clay than the morainal soils and cover a less hilly, or even level, surface, lying between the moraines. They are a fine sandy clay and cover portions of the southern limestone areas, but they are most abundant between the moraines southwest of Saginaw Bay. Along the eastern shore, covering a large part of Monroe, Wayne, Macomb and St. Clair counties and reaching inland from Saginaw Bay far south into Shiawassee County, is a stiff lake clay (green) representing the ancient glacial lake bottom over limestone areas. This is one of the most fertile soils of the peninsula, and was the first with which settlers from the East came in contact. Its heavy forests of ash and elm seriously checked its settlement. See also map (new edition of Lane's map of 1907) of a somewhat more minute classification, in *Mich. Geol. and Biol. Survey*, Pub. 9, Geol. Series 7 (1912), opposite p. 12. Detailed data is given in the same volume (pp.87-140), by counties, arranged alphabetically, showing area, swamp and lake sections, and the predominant soils in each township.

and abundant proportions of sand, which gains heat rapidly, gives warmth to the soil, moderated by the presence of clay. Moisture is well proportioned. The porosity of the sand prevents the drowning of crops, and the depth of the soil together with the clay keeps it from drying out. There is little irreclaimable marshland. In general the soil is easy to work, for the assorting action of glacial lakes left the finer materials on the surface. With a few exceptions it is not stony like New England soil, and there are few barrens due to outcrops. The mixture of clay and sand makes a soil not too adhesive for the plow, and one not easily washed full of gullies. The limestone areas are specially fortified against deterioration through wasteful farming, and in many places there is an abundance of natural fertilizers.

Important to these soils is their drainage and their water supply, which depends largely upon the topography of the peninsula. The striking similarity between certain topographic features of the whole of the surrounding region suggests a common origin in some force that operated more widely than in Michigan only. A common feature is seen, for instance, in the general direction of the axis of the Saginaw River and Bay, the St. Lawrence River and Gulf, the Maumee River and the Bay and the Fox River and Green Bay. This long ago observed by Alexander Winchell was designated by him the "diagonal system" in the topography of this region. The axes appear to have been determined by the direction in which the ice lobes were projected, in combination with the strike, or angle, of

the strata over which they passed.⁵⁹ Where the bed-rocks were sufficiently consolidated to offer effective resistance to the force of the ice, the diagonal direction of the surface features suffered modification; for example, the Michigan shore of Lake Michigan now runs approximately north and south. Along part of the eastern shore the underlying trend caused conjointly by these forces has been concealed by post-glacial deposits; the St. Clair and Detroit rivers running over these southward cause the peninsula in this part to have a nearly uniform width.

By the original position of the ice lobes, by the depth of the great lake basins and by the gradual recession of the glacial waters, the peninsula was left with an area large enough to insure a variety of settlement and a pioneer period of long duration. Roughly, the peninsula has an area of two hundred by three hundred miles, with the longer axis north and south.⁶⁰ That portion of it which lies south of the latitude of the head of Saginaw Bay, which alone received settlers by 1837, about equals the combined areas of Vermont, Massachusetts and Connecticut.⁶¹ The average width of this part of the peninsula is about one hundred and ninety

59. See Winchell's formula for the relation of the glacial and stratigraphic forces in the topography of the region, in Tackabury's *Atlas*, 14, and a more extended discussion in *Amer. Jour. of Science*, 3rd ser., VI, 36-40. The "diagonal system" in Monroe County is discussed in *Mich. Geol. Survey Rep.*, VII, 118.

60. The extreme length of the lower peninsula is 277.09 miles; the extreme width is 197.057 miles. (Tackabury's *Atlas*, 9).

61. Montcalm County was organized in 1850 (*Session Laws*, 121), with a population of about nine hundred (*U. S. Census*, 1850, 893).

miles, and the relation of this wide area to settlement is seen in the comparatively late organization of county and township government on the western shore.

The character of the shore lands is such as to have given countenance to unfavorable reports about the interior; at least in that respect they were a retarding influence upon settlement.⁶³ These lands present three well marked differences. The southeastern shore is low, and comparatively level for a distance inland of from five to twenty-five miles; on the north and north-east of the peninsula outcrops of bedrock give the coast an abrupt and forbidding appearance; on the western shores, low lines of wind-blown sand dunes rising in places two and three hundred feet high suggest a sterile back country.⁶⁴

The surface of the peninsula, especially of the southern part, lends itself easily to agriculture, grazing, lumbering and manufacture. This again is due to the action of the waters of the melting ice lobes, eroding and distributing the drift materials, determining the undulations of the surface and the courses of the principal streams. The topographical result for agriculture is the almost total absence of the inconveniently steep hillsides so characteristic of portions of New England and eastern New York. Yet the surface has

62. Oakland County was organized in 1820, Van Buren in 1837.

63. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 49; *Detroit Gazette*, June 23, 1820.

64. Lanman, *Michigan*, 363. The conical cliff of white sand south of Grand Traverse Bay, known as Sleeping Bear, has a height of over three hundred feet. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 363. See also Jefferson, *Geography of Michigan*, p. 23, fig. 11, showing the dunes on Lake Michigan. Mention will be made of the encroachments of these sands in connection with deforestation.

sufficient elevations to insure lively streams for drainage and water power, and among them intervene large areas of level or slightly undulating land.⁶⁶

The largest plain of the peninsula, the Grand-Maple-Saginaw valley, extending across it diagonally from the head of Saginaw Bay to Lake Michigan may have been scoured out, if not produced, by the ice mass of the Saginaw lobe.⁶⁷ One of the early state improvement schemes was to re-connect the two lakes across this depression by a canal.⁶⁸

The portion of the peninsula south of this central plain is divided also into two watersheds by the southeastern morainal elevation noted above.⁶⁹ This reaches its greatest height, over seven hundred feet above lake level, in Oakland and Hillsdale counties;⁷⁰ from this principal ridge irregular lines of small rounded hills run westward, in the intervals of which lie valleys with small

66. A map of contour lines is given in Tackabury's *Atlas*, opposite p. 10, which was prepared from some six thousand elevations measured in running levels for railroad and canal surveys. A line is drawn for every fifty feet of elevation. Few differences appear in the more recent map accompanying the *Mich. Geol. Survey Rep.*, for 1907. See also plate V, opposite p. 24, in *Mich. Geol. and Biol. Survey*, Pub. 9, Geol. Series 7.

67. See for history of the Great Lakes, *American Geologist*, XIV, 289-301. Diagrams of the retiring ice lobes, and of the lakes in front of them are given in *Mich. Geol. Survey Rep.* (1907), 124-131.

68. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 83. The highest point of the plain, a moraine in Gratiot County, was only seventy-two feet above lake level.

69. For fuller discussion, see chapter IV on the first inland counties, and Leverett, in *Mich. Geol. and Biol. Survey*, Pub. 9, Geol. Series 7 (1912), p. 18.

70. *Sixth Rep. Mich. Acad. of Science*, 104.

streams.⁷¹ The position of this ridge so near to the eastern shore makes the eastern watershed somewhat abrupt, and its streams in parts of their courses are correspondingly short and rapid. The current of the Raisin, for example, while profiting by this for water power, is said to have been early considered too rapid for navigation.⁷² On the other hand, the long gentle western watershed had sufficient incline for good water power, and all of its principal streams were originally navigated by small craft.⁷³

Northward from the central plain lies a second principal elevation conforming to the general diagonal system of the peninsula. This is higher than the southern one, averaging about seven hundred feet, reaching its extreme height of 1120 feet above lake level in Osceola county.⁷⁴

The topography and soil of the peninsula and the manner of their formation caused the general char-

71. A table of elevations for these summits is given in Tackabury's *Atlas*, 12.

72. A contour map of Monroe County, giving a line for every ten feet of elevation, forms the frontispiece in *Mich. Geol. Survey Rep.*, VII.

73. A graphic comparison of elevations in the southern part of the peninsula is seen in profiles of several railway beds shown in the *Mich. State Board of Health Rep.* (1878)—Det. & Mil. R. R., 179; Mich. Cent. R. R., 181; Lake Shore and Mich. Southern R. R., 185.

74. *Sixth Rep. Mich. Acad. of Science*, 103. The relation between the northern and southern divides and the central depression is shown clearly by the profile of the bed of the old Saginaw and Mackinac division of the Mich. Cent. R. R., lying through Jackson, Ingham, Clinton, Shiawassee, Saginaw, Bay, Roscommon and Otsego counties, in *Mich. State Board of Health Rep.* (1878), 181. See also profile of the Flint and Père Marquette, *Ibid.*, 179.

acter of the rivers and streams.⁷⁵ Compared with other rivers of the United States they are small, but they are numerous, and measured by the windings of their courses they are of great length. They have numerous branches, and the branchlets of these in turn make a network of small water courses of great value for drainage, stock and distribution of water power. The abundant supply of water to these streams is due to generous rainfall, porosity of soil, and the many interior lakes. The sinuosity of courses, the gentleness of current and the evenness of volume are due to the same causes combined with an undulating surface. At many points ledges of bedrock cause rapids, though these in general do not occur near enough to the lakes to prevent navigation inland for small boats up to the settlements made at the power sites, as at Grand Rapids and Allegan. The mouths of many of the rivers furnished to settlers good natural harbors.

The principal rivers of the eastern watershed are the Raisin, the Huron, the Clinton, and the Saginaw, and their branches. Raisin River, though one of the most rapid streams of the peninsula, has the most winding course of all. In a direct line from its source in the moraine in Hillsdale County to its mouth in Lake Erie it is but sixty miles; by its windings it measures one hundred and thirty miles. The rapidity of its descent and its long meanderings distribute widely many excellent power sites, while its high banks and

75. For a good brief description of the leading features of the drainage system of the lower peninsula, see Leverett, in *Mich. Geol. and Biol. Survey*, Pub. 9, Geol. Series 7, pp. 24-27.

limestone bed make for both beauty and utility.⁷⁶

Huron River has a less rapid descent and hence a more moderate current than the Raisin. The comparative sinuosity of its course may be judged from its ninety miles of windings over a direct distance about the same as that measured by the Raisin. It shares two characteristics of the rivers rising in the southern divide—the presence of numerous small lakes and creeks at and near their heads, and the receipt of the bulk of their waters in the upper part of their courses, characteristics which make strongly for an even supply of water power.⁷⁷

Clinton River rises in the numerous small lakes of the Oakland County moraine, and though only fifty miles long it gives valuable power at many sites. Twenty miles of the lower course, from Mt. Clemens to Rochester, was originally navigable for small boats;⁷⁸ the removal of the bars at this river mouth, as well as at the mouth of the Raisin, was the earliest harbor improvement, opening these rivers for large boats to Mt. Clemens and Monroe.

The thirty miles of Saginaw River is really a drowned valley. This river is therefore comparatively sluggish, and though navigable, having a depth of from twenty to thirty feet, it gives little power.⁷⁹ But its many branches—the Cass, the Tittabawassee, the Chippewa, the Flint, and the Thread—are lively streams furnish-

76. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 349.

77. *Ibid.*, 303.

78. *Ibid.*, 264.

79. *Ibid.*, 355-356.

ing power in abundance. On the latter branch were built the first mills of this region.⁸⁰

The rivers of the western watershed that were most important to settlement in this period were the St. Joseph, the Kalamazoo and the Grand.⁸¹ These have much in common. The sources of their main branches lie close together, in that portion of the southeastern moraine which gives rise to the Raisin and the Huron. From here their courses rapidly diverge, enclosing two pieces of land roughly triangular in shape, which have their bases abutting on Lake Michigan. Their mouths on that shore are a considerable distance apart. That of the Kalamazoo is forty-one miles north of the mouth of the St. Joseph, and twenty-nine miles south of that of the Grand. All are serpentine, measuring along their windings more than double the direct distance from source to mouth, and their branches minutely sub-divide over wide basins. The Grand drains in the central plain an area co-extensive with the larger portion of the coal measures. They have comparatively uniform currents, though in the wet season they generally increase in volume; the St. Joseph rises in places from four to six feet. The increase of power at these times causes them to erode their banks at the turnings, and often to deposit, as at Niles, sufficient debris to

80. Attention will be given later to St. Clair River and its branches, and to the smaller streams flowing into the eastern shore water, which were many and very important to settlement. See the study of St. Clair River and delta in *Mich. Geol. Survey Rep.*, IX, 1-25, (Maps and diagrams).

81. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 294, 306, 367. There is a good brief outline of the river system of western Michigan in the *American Geologist*, I, 143-146.

obstruct navigation.⁸² Except in a few places erosion has worn deep their beds, making high banks which protect the neighboring lands from freshets. Mill sites are plentiful and navigation is possible for a considerable distance inland. Excepting for sand-bars, the width and depth made these river mouths originally excellent harbors. The mouth of the St. Joseph, for instance, was originally a quarter of a mile wide and from nine to fourteen feet deep.

The advantages of these waterways to early settlement were many and obvious. Except at Detroit, the early French settlements were at the river mouths and along the lower courses of the rivers and streams flowing into the eastern water front. The American settlers, going up these streams in search of open land and mill sites, were aided in their search by the Indian trails along the banks of the largest streams. The aid of water power in cutting lumber was much needed in the early days when it was costly and difficult to transport steam machinery inland, and when sawed lumber was much in demand by an ever increasing number of home-builders. The "saw-mill town" was likely to have at an early time its grist mill, distillery and tannery because of the same supply of cheap power. Water power was often most easily obtained at the junction of a creek with the main stream, or at a bend in the river where a dam could be easily made and a rapid fall be secured by cutting across the neck of the projecting land—as at Dexter, Tecumseh or Adrian. A ford in the river, marked often by the crossing of an Indian trail, or by a junction of such trails, offered ad-

82. Lanman, *Michigan*, 375.

vantages for transportation in addition to power—as at Jackson, Kalamazoo and Pontiac. Ledges of rocks in the river formed rapids and made excellent power sites—as at Grand Rapids, Allegan and Monroe.

It will be observed that east of the southeastern divide, settlements were very early made at Rochester, Pontiac, Ypsilanti, Ann Arbor, Tecumseh and Adrian.⁸³ The situation of these in a line almost parallel with the shore and about half way between the shore and the crest of the divide was not fortuitous, but marked the presence of a water power belt.⁸⁴ Some emphasis should be placed upon the extent to which the small creeks gave water power, a distinct factor in the extension of the frontier away from the principal streams. They were especially useful in the vicinity of the eastern highland, since their power, which depended upon their fall, was there in many cases very great; for example, Pettibone Creek, a diminutive stream in Oakland County with a fall of about a hundred feet in eight miles, furnishes at various village sites a total of two hundred horsepower.⁸⁵ Their utility for drainage and the watering of stock gains importance from their minute subdivision—like the Rouge, a small branch of the Detroit river which drains an estimated area of three hundred and sixty square miles.⁸⁶ Most of these

83. There is a good brief statement of the water power of southern Michigan in the *Mich. Geol. Survey Rep.* (1901), 126. A more detailed study is contained in the Water Supply Papers, Nos. 30, 48, 49 of the *U. S. Geol. Survey*. See also the discussion for the southern tier of counties in *Mich. Geol. Survey Rep.* (1903), 73-83 (Maps).

84. *Mich. Geol. Survey Rep.* (1901), 126.

85. *Resources of Michigan* (1893), 90.

86. *Ibid.*, 90.

streams are fed by springs and lakes which regulate their volume and hence their efficiency. Clinton River in Oakland County is fed by a chain of lakes.⁸⁷

The economical transportation of logs and lumber by water has always been an item of great value in the settlement of Michigan. It was specially so in the early days when economy in all things was a necessity. Easy transportation extended the service of one mill on a stream to all the settlements below, and the tributaries above a mill extended the availability of timber to their farthest reach. The cost of hauling logs overland confined early lumbering to their banks, leaving the intervening tracts to the day of the railroad; yet the amount of timber that could be easily reached by water was large, and much lumber was exported. At Allegan four million feet of lumber was cut in 1839 and rafted to Lake Michigan down the Kalamazoo River.⁸⁸ In the same year three million feet of lumber was rafted for shipment from Grand Rapids to Grand Haven.⁸⁹ Even after the railroad appeared, river transportation was used wherever possible and saved many millions of dollars to the lumber industry.

River navigation and canal building naturally received much attention in the days when overland travel meant principally the wagon and the stagecoach. It

87. *Ibid.*, 91. Artesian wells have been used for power to run hydraulic rams, and like the springs, furnish a perpetual supply of drinking water for house and stock. For artesian well areas, springs and non-flowing wells, see *Mich. Geol. Survey Rep.* (1903), 47-72; also the *Ann Arbor Folio*, prepared by the U. S. Geol. Survey.

88. Lanman, *Michigan*, 368.

89. *Ibid.*, 367.

has been noted that several of the rivers of Michigan were by nature fitted for navigation to some distance inland, but little success was met in trying to navigate the eastern rivers. The current of the Raisin appears to have been considered too rapid, except near the mouth. The Huron was used by the first settlers of Washtenaw county for poleboats, and at one time the citizens of Ypsilanti made an unsuccessful experiment with a large boat of that type to run between there and the lake.⁹⁰ The Clinton was navigable for small boats from Mt. Clemens to Rochester; the vicinity of this river was the site of the most active attempt to build state canals.⁹¹

Of the western rivers the Grand was the most promising for navigation.⁹² The Kalamazoo had a gentle current, but enough volume to enable large boats to reach Allegan; in the wet season they could go up as far as Kalamazoo.⁹³ The St. Joseph was ordinarily navigable for small steamboats to Niles, and by poleboats from there to Three Rivers.⁹⁴ The Grand is said to have been navigable for small boats two hundred and forty of its two hundred and seventy miles of length;⁹⁵ in the season of 1836 there were on the Grand River four boats of the tonnage and construction of the Erie Canal boats, in addition to a class of smaller boats of

90. See chapter IV, on the First Inland Counties.

91. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 82.

92. For water power and navigability of the Grand, the Kalamazoo and the St. Joseph rivers, see the reports of surveyors to the State Commissioners of Internal Improvement, in Lanman's *Michigan*, 366-383.

93. *Ibid.*, 368.

94. *Ibid.*, 372.

95. *History of Washtenaw County* (1881), 121.

from ten to fifteen tons burden;⁹⁶ in 1839 a steamboat of three and one-half feet draft made daily trips between Grand Haven and Grand Rapids, and two more boats of the same class were added before 1840.⁹⁷

The Great Lakes were valuable complements of the river system of Michigan for transportation, commerce and fisheries. These great basins, comprising together more than one-half of the fresh water of the globe were, if not entirely produced, widened, deepened and filled by glacial action.⁹⁸ It was most significant for the later settlement of Michigan that the position of the head of Lake Michigan should have brought within such easy reach from Michigan a point fitted to become the great central market of the Middle West—the site of Chicago. The combined action of lake and river made possible very good harbors in the drowned valleys of the river mouths, some of which needed but little improvement to make them immediately effective for settlement; the mouth of Grand River originally admitted vessels of twelve feet draft.⁹⁹ The small lakes along the western shore at river mouths are drowned valleys and many of them have been made into good harbors by cutting through the sandbars that hem them in from the lake.¹⁰⁰ Harbor improvements were early made at the mouths of

96. Lanman, *Michigan*, 367.

97. *Ibid.*, 367.

98. The origin of the basins is discussed in the *Quart. Jour. Geol. Soc. Lond.*, XLVI, 523-533. See for a bibliography of the Great Lakes, G. C. Russell, *Lakes of North America*, 96-104.

99. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 294.

100. Lanman, *Michigan*, 370.

the Clinton and the Raisin.¹⁰¹ As early as 1818 steam transportation began on Lake Erie from Buffalo to Detroit; in 1834 a boat built and launched at Monroe is said to have begun regular trips to Buffalo.¹⁰² Immigrants are said to have been brought to the western shore of Michigan by way of the lakes as early as 1830 and this route became the common way of transporting goods to the western part of the peninsula.¹⁰³ Shipbuilding was fostered by the needs of growing settlement and became early an important industry at Detroit, Monroe, Mt. Clemens and St. Clair.¹⁰⁴

While the fish of the Great Lakes did not become of commercial importance until the decade 1830-40, the early settlers placed a high value upon them.¹⁰⁵ The Jesuits and travelers of very early days noted the abundance and variety of these fish, and they are mentioned with emphasis in an English emigrant's guidebook of 1820.¹⁰⁶ The most favored fish seem to have been the whitefish, the sturgeon, the lake trout, the bass, the pickerel and the herring.¹⁰⁷ Among the French the autumn fishing season for whitefish was one of much pleasure and excitement, the whitefish being specially valued for its fine flavor.¹⁰⁸ Not least im-

101. See chapter III, on Monroe.

102. *Ibid.*

103. See chapters V and VI on the St. Joseph and Kalamazoo valleys.

104. See chapter III, this volume.

105. *Resources of Michigan* (1893), 176.

106. *A Geographical, Historical, Commercial and Agricultural View of the United States*, etc., Lond., 1820, p. 695.

107. The varieties most commonly known to the early settlers were the sturgeon, whitefish, trout, pickerel, pike, perch, herring, bass, etc., (Blois, *Gazetteer*, 55).

108. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 361.

portant for settlement was the distribution of many varieties of lake fish inland by means of the rivers and streams. The sturgeon, which came up the rivers to spawn in the early spring, were caught in large numbers;¹⁰⁹ they were no small addition to a settler's larder, averaging in weight about seventy pounds;¹¹⁰ of the smaller fish, the lake-trout averaged from ten to twenty pounds. The rapid increase in settlement beginning about 1830, and the demand for fish by neighboring states, attracted the attention of capitalists to the Great Lakes fisheries, among others the American Fur Company, who employed chiefly the French-Canadians.¹¹¹ It is estimated that in 1830 eight thousand barrels of fish, valued at forty thousand dollars, were put on the market.¹¹² The rapid growth of the industry is seen in the thirteen thousand five hundred barrels, valued at one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars, marketed in 1837. Three-fourths of the entire amount was shipped to Ohio, New York, and Pennsylvania.¹¹³

The inland lakes, so characteristic of Michigan topography except on the eastern shore lands, were useful to settlers for their fish and game. In some places they furnished water for stock, and facilities for transportation and lumbering. Like the Great Lakes, these were of glacial origin, being depressions in the surface filled with water from the melting ice. The

109. Lanman, *Michigan*, 264.

110. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 56.

111. Lanman, *Michigan*, 264; Blois, *Gazetteer*, 57.

112. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 56; *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser*, December 15, 1830.

113. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 57.

extent and wide distribution of these bodies of water in Michigan has given rise to the idea of reclaiming the fertile soils which they cover. They vary in size from one acre to a thousand acres, and in some places they are so close together that several can be seen from one point of view. They are most numerous where the surface is most irregular, as along the southeastern divide; in Oakland County there are some four hundred of them. Numbering in the peninsula about five thousand, they cover several thousand square miles. In general they are quite deep and have gravelly bottoms; where they are fed by springs their waters are cool and transparent. Bass, pike, pickerel, perch, sunfish and blue gills are common to most of them,¹¹⁴ and they are the resort of a variety of aquatic fowls. Reminiscences of settlers abound in descriptions of their beauty. With these advantages, besides affording inexhaustible pure water for stock, one of these lakes made a valuable appendage to a settler's farm. To quote an extract from a settler's letter:¹¹⁵ "No part of the country is more healthy than the vicinity of these lakes, and emigrants who are not haunted with vain fears and prejudices respecting their tendency to produce ague and fever always seek to locate by the side of them." However, it is commonly reported by travelers in the early days that comparatively few people settled on their banks, finding location sites of greater economic advantage on a stream, a traveled highway or on open land.

114. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXI, 265.

115. *Detroit Free Press*, October 6, 1831.

These lakes are by many thousands less numerous now than in the period when they were formed. Natural drainage, evaporation, wave action and vegetation have filled in many of them, which survive as marshes, peat bogs, meadows and small prairies. The lake deposits are economically very important for settlement. Marl has many uses, among others that of a natural fertilizer. Peat, which "represents an advanced stage of swamp with drainage partly established,"¹¹⁶ was not significant for settlement when timber was abundant. Muck land, a preliminary stage of peat, exemplified in the original state of the present celery beds near Kalamazoo, makes very productive land when drained; meadow land, like that originally in southeastern Jackson County, represents a condition of poor drainage rather than a soil composition.

In the small prairies, most of which are in southwestern Michigan, settlers found many attractions, and these lands exercised in that region a very decided influence upon early settlement. In origin and nature these little islets in the original forest were the same with the great prairies south and west of them. Their soil represents the deposits of glacial lakes which were drained perhaps as early as the recession of the glacial waters. Their lake origin is witnessed by abundant shells, and by the thickness of decayed vegetation. The treeless character of these areas was due partly to natural causes, and partly to the Indians. The grass early got the start of trees because of the agencies which supplied its first seeds—birds, wind and water, which

116. *Mich. Geol. Survey Rep.* (1907), 112.

could convey only the lighter seeds;¹¹⁷ later, the Indians fired these grass-lands annually, as well as the forests, to improve their hunting-grounds by decoying the deer to the tender new growths.¹¹⁸

In marked contrast to these open prairies were the forest lands, whose relation to settlement was definite both in respect of their timber and their soils. In some places the removal of the forest has made very emphatic its value as a protection to the soil; as at Grand Haven, where the encroachment of the sand, made incoherent by deforestation, has in late years become a serious menace. The wind, given a free passage, carries the loose sand far inland and overlays the productive soils with it. The results of this show plainly in the slower settlement of western Ottawa County as compared with that of portions of the western shore where the dunes are less prominent.¹¹⁹ On the other hand, settlement was in places variously impeded by the density of the forest. Washing away of the soil, which in mountainous countries has frequently followed deforestation, is provided against in this peninsula by the comparatively level surface. In past times the forest has been the most important source of the organic properties of the soil, for a great majority of Michigan trees are deciduous. The effect of the forest upon the supply of moisture and hence upon climate, drainage and health, has been remarked fre-

117. Winchell, *Soils and Sub-soils*, 85.

118. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 26; *Detroit Gazette*, Nov. 8, 1825.

119. See a discussion of this difficulty in *Mich. Pomological Soc. Rep.* (1875).

quently;¹²⁰ directly, the lumber industry has affected population by drawing to Michigan capital and men from lumbering states in the East; in later settlement, lumbering in the softwood belt was chiefly responsible for the large accessions of Canadians. Lumbering on this scale, however, was not an influence upon settlement before 1850, at about which time there began that systematic exploitation of timber in the Grand and Saginaw valleys that has been a strong influence in building up larger centers of population and industry there. Lumbering and manufacturing in Michigan have been externally influenced by the position of Michigan near to the great grain producing section with its wide markets for agricultural machinery and furniture. The extent of this market may be measured by the reported production in 1881 of enough lumber to build handsome dwellings for a city of a million people.

The variety of Michigan trees was almost as great a stimulus to settlement as their abundance. It has been estimated that the trees native to Michigan's soils have a variety nine times greater than those native to the soils of Great Britain;¹²¹ no part of the United States was originally more favored. This wealth of forest was due mainly to superior range in climate and soils.¹²² Roughly, the forests appear to

120. Semple, *American History and its Geographic Conditions* (Boston, 1903), 331, 354. *Resources of Michigan* (1883), 17.

121. *Mich. Pomological Soc. Rep.* (1875), 244. See *Ibid.*, p. 238, for a list of the most common trees. A more complete list is given in *Resources of Michigan* (1883), 67.

122. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXII, 354.

have presented but two strongly marked divisions, one north and another south of the parallel of 43° of latitude. The pine and soft woods were north, the hard woods south.¹²³ Within these limits the minor differentia were the river valleys, the streams and swamps, and the uplands, which were chiefly a matter of the kinds of soil.

There appears to be a quite definite relation between variety of timber and the kinds of soil supporting it. As above observed, the hard wood belt lies largely south of the latitude of 43° ; that is, in the region distinctly characterized by glacial moraines. North of that parallel there are great areas of sandy lands, and there the pine and soft woods predominate. There are a few exceptions to the occurrence of pine south of that line, but these are mainly on sandy lands, as in Oakland County, and in southwestern Michigan where pine extends down quite to the Indiana line.¹²⁴ Of the hard woods, while originally a given variety was found fairly well distributed it was of course likely to be specially abundant on the soil most favorable to it. Beech, oak, hickory and sugar-maple were found most abundant on soils containing much lime and clay.¹²⁵ The mechanical composition of the soil also affected forest distribution. The oaks were originally the most abundant hard woods, corresponding to the most common soils. The burr-oak plains were largely glacial outwash aprons, with much lime in their composition, more gravelly and sandy than the oak-openings. Scrub-oak

123. *Mich. Horticultural Soc. Rep.* (1880), 429-430.

124. *Ibid.*, 429; Tackabury's *Atlas*, 19.

125. Winchell, *Soils and Sub-soils*, 80.

was most abundant over the poorer quality of sands; as the lake sands, or those from glacial drainage. Oak flourished, in general, over the gravelly or sandy loams and clays, the typical soils of the hardwood belt. Beech and maple were plentiful on the more clayey portions of these soils, and on the till plains. Ash and elm abounded on the stiff lake clay of the shore lands.

The relation of timber to soil furnished the settler with an additional and fairly reliable index to the character of lands.¹²⁶ His experience with similar soils in his old home enabled him to judge fairly well of their adaptation to crops. Burr-oak was early held to indicate one of the best of soils for wheat, and the burr-oak plains were next in favor after the prairies. Occasionally a mistake was made, as with the highly productive bright yellow loam of the openings covered with hickory, which had the appearance of being sterile.¹²⁷ Lanman says this soil was excellent for wheat.¹²⁸ Settlers looked also askance at the sandy soil of the pine land.¹²⁹ In general, the heavily timbered land was held not to be so congenial to wheat, and was not warm

126. The relation of soil to timber as here given is from personal information from Professor Leverett.

127. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 24. There appears to have been some prejudice against the oak-openings; for example, see *Detroit Gazette* for September 1, 1820. An editorial in the *Gazette* for August 2, 1822, says that "Oak-openings are supposed by some to be destitute of a thick growth of timber by reason of the poverty or of some peculiar properties of the soil," and the editor corrects this view. But the *Detroit Free Press* of September 22, 1831, says of the burr-oak openings that they are preferred to prairies, being like those in the Genesee country in western New York.

128. Lanman, *Michigan*, 323.

129. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 23.

enough for corn, but was known to produce excellent crops of hay, oats and potatoes.¹³⁰ These limitations combined with the obstacles to clearing, caused this land to be settled slowly. The best soils were supposed to lie under a covering of black-walnut, whitewood, ash, buckeye, and sugar-maple; while the poorer land, characterized by a grayish sand over blue clay, was indexed by much soft-maple and some varieties of beech.¹³¹

The relative density of the forest was to the early settler a matter to consider seriously, if only from the point of view of the relative difficulties of getting a paying first crop. Blois in his *Gazetteer*, which bears marks of being intended largely for the use of immigrants, makes this the basis of his soil classification,—pine lands, timbered lands, openings, plains and prairies,¹³² and the more legitimately in that, as just observed, the qualities of soil did vary with the density of timber.

Density of growth in the hardwood belt appears to have been governed by the amount of moisture. The heavily timbered lands lay along the rivers and streams, especially where the ground was low and wet; while the openings, which covered the greater part of the hardwood belt, lay along the elevations between the water-courses. One explanation of this distribution appears to be the protection which the greater moisture afforded against the annual fires set by the Indians to burn the underbrush.¹³³

130. *Ibid.*, 24.

131. Lanman, *Michigan*, 322.

132. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 22.

133. *Ibid.*, 130.

The soils which favored greatest density among the hardwoods were the clays on the till plains and along the lake shores. Some areas of till plain very definitely affected settlement through their density of forest, as in the southern parts of Lenawee and Hillsdale Counties.¹³⁴ Heavy forests of ash and elm originally skirted the eastern shores for many miles inland,¹³⁵ and in Wayne and Monroe counties formed a decided barrier to immigration. It has been observed that the parallel of 43° dividing the hardwood from the softwood belt, marked an increase in density of forest that seriously impeded the northward extension of the frontier;¹³⁶ and it seems certain that in 1838 little was known of the region north of the Grand River.¹³⁷

The relation of settlement to density of forest and to the soils thus indicated, may be seen in the actual process of getting a first crop. One of the chief obstacles on the heavily timbered land was the necessity of first cutting off the timber, which was not only hard to cut, but according to reports some of it, like the giant white-wood, "positively refused to burn";¹³⁸ and after it was cut and burned the stumps remained, with roots deep down in the porous soil. In the openings the timber and stump problem was reduced. There the trees were often so far apart as to permit teams to drive easily miles in any direction. A characteristic of Michigan

134. See *infra* chapters on the "First Inland Counties" and "The St. Joseph Valley."

135. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 39.

136. Semple, *Amer. Hist.*, 153. See map showing relative density of forest in *Sixth Ann. Rep. State Board of Health* (1878), 190.

137. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 22.

138. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXVIII, 148-150.

forests due to porosity of soil was the absence of fallen trees, which greatly aided the settlement of the openings. But there was the grub problem, especially where the openings, as was often the case, bordered on dense forest. This was due probably to the cessation of the annual Indian fires. Whereas it took ordinarily three yokes of oxen to break the soil of the openings, these "grub lots" required six yokes, and sometimes it was necessary to hitch a yoke to the back of the plow to pull it out of difficulty.¹³⁹ The burr-oak plains could be easily broken when there were no grubs, but they often had the disadvantage of too little timber for fencing and building. These plains were of great beauty and appealed strongly to the early settlers, whose reminiscences abound with praises of them; they are frequently described as looking like cultivated orchards.¹⁴⁰ The great difficulty with the prairies was the total absence of timber; sometimes there was a scarcity of good water; and the network of wire-like grass roots made the soil very difficult to break. With these disadvantages it should be mentioned that the soil was sometimes too adhesive to scour the plow, and that it was known to produce smut in the wheat; moreover, the winter crops were unprotected from bleak winds. But despite these disadvantages, which seem material, the prairies were preferred by the settlers who came in from Indiana and Ohio where they were used to similar conditions. The timber problem was partially solved by building on the forested

139. Lannan, *Michigan*, 254, 324.

140. C. F. Hoffman, *A Winter in the West* (New York, 1835), I, 183.

margin. The exceeding richness of the soil and its freedom from grubs and stones was held to compensate for the initial difficulty of breaking it, and the first crops raised could usually find a market in the settlements on the neighboring plains and openings.

The methods of preparing for the first crop are involved in what has been said of the initial difficulties. Cutting and burning in the thick timber, girdling in the openings and plains, formed the first step. Timber for fencing and building was of course reserved. The usual breaking time was in June and July. On the prairies, little or no cultivation was required after the seed was planted in the turned soil. But the easiest first crop was to be gotten in the timbered land, where it was not too dense. This was generally considered the best adventure for the settler with bare ax and hoe; he had only to scratch the ground with the hoe for either corn or wheat, though the yield of both was somewhat slighter than in the other soils.¹⁴¹

The yield of first crops varied considerably. Corn produced forty bushels to the acre for the first crop from timbered land, the prairies yielding fifty bushels.¹⁴² The bottom lands along the streams produced a greater yield of corn than the timbered uplands.¹⁴³ On the openings, the first season would yield twelve bushels of wheat to the acre.¹⁴⁴ The comparative increase was marked in the yields of successive crops. The prairies yielded as high as eighty bushels of corn, and on the whole they produced the largest average crops of any

141. Lanman, *Michigan*, 322; Blois, *Gazetteer*, 27.

142. Lanman, *Michigan*, 322; Blois, *Gazetteer*, 25.

143. Lanman, *Michigan*, 323.

144. *Ibid.*, 323.

of the soils.¹⁴⁵ The calcareous soil of the openings increased its crops as it was cultivated.¹⁴⁶ In comparative quickness of yield the timbered land was nearly two weeks earlier than the openings.¹⁴⁷

The cost of getting the first crop if a settler wished to pay for it, naturally varied with the difficulties of clearing, fencing and cultivating. Reports vary. To clear and fence timbered land is said to have cost from ten to fifteen dollars per acre; of openings, from ten to twelve dollars to clear and plant.¹⁴⁸ Burr-oak plains and prairies, if timber were near, cost about ten dollars per acre to break and fence.¹⁴⁹ Another report places the cost of clearing, fencing, plowing, harrowing and seeding the plains at eight dollars per acre.¹⁵⁰ The same authority reports that "every first crop paid the entire expense of each improvement" on these plains, and ventures the advice to settlers that it were better to pay ten dollars per acre for plains if timber is plentiful than one dollar per acre for timbered land. Blois says that most crops, especially corn, could be raised to perfection in Michigan with often one-half of the labor and expense necessary in the East, especially in New England.¹⁵¹ In favor of Michigan forest lands, after the country became known, it was commonly held that they had an advantage over similar New York lands in

145. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 25.

146. *Ibid.*, 24.

147. Lanman, *Michigan*, 322.

148. Lanman, *Michigan*, 254, 322, 323; Blois, *Gazetteer*, 27.

149. Lanman, *Michigan*, 325.

150. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 418. This report came from Jackson County, apparently about 1837-38.

151. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 37.

that they did not wear out one generation of settlers in becoming subdued to cultivation.

The cost of subduing the land was often largely repaid by the natural products useful to the settlers. The forests yielded timber for fencing and building, and later for manufacturing. Potash was a valuable by-product from the clearing.¹⁵² The luxurious wild grasses—bluejoint, equal to timothy, redtop and wild rye—furnished abundant feed for stock.¹⁵³ Fruits, berries, and nuts grew wild in profusion. There were wild cherries, apples, plums and pears, cranberries, currents, gooseberries, huckleberries, blackberries, raspberries, strawberries and wild grapes;¹⁵⁴ strawberries are said to have been so plentiful in some parts of the openings that the cows came home with their hoofs bespattered with the juice of the berry.¹⁵⁵ The luxurious growths of wild grapes along the banks of the Raisin gave that river its name. Hickorynuts, walnuts, butternuts and hazelnuts may be mentioned, though minor luxuries. Sugar was furnished by the sugar-maple, and honey by the wild bees; swarms of wild bees were so numerous that bee-hunting was made a business by some at the proper season.¹⁵⁶ In 1835 there was taken from one

152. Lanman *Michigan*, 322; *Detroit Gazette*, May 17, 1822.

153. Lanman, *Michigan*, 324; Blois, *Gazetteer*, 26; *Rep. State Board of Agriculture* (1875), 287-300, gives an account of grass and forage plants. There are 139 species of grasses and 176 species of sedges indigenous to Michigan. *Mich. Horticultural Soc. Rep.* (1880), 432.

154. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 36.

155. See Branch County in chapter IV, on the St. Joseph Valley; also Swan, *Journal of a Trip to Michigan in 1841* (Rochester, 1904), 16, 19, 27, 28, 30; Harriet Martineau, *Society in America* (London, 1837), I, 320-327.

156. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 35.

tree, a large whitewood, a hundred pounds of honey;¹⁵⁷ a stimulating drink was made from honey, well-known to pioneers.¹⁵⁸

The animals helpful to settlers were many. Wild game abounded almost at the settler's door. The deer, the bear, the rabbit, the hare and the squirrel were very numerous. Deerskin and bearskin afforded material for clothing, along with the fur of the beaver, the otter, the muskrat, the mink, the martin, the fisher and the raccoon. All these were saleable; martin furs early sold on the market for from one to two dollars apiece.¹⁵⁹ Of the forest game fowls, there were the partridge, quail, woodcock, grouse, pigeon and wild turkey.¹⁶⁰ Aquatic game fowls are said to have literally covered the inland lakes at certain seasons, the duck and the goose being most prized. Migratory song birds gave charm to life in the forest.

It is true that some species of flora and fauna were drawbacks to the settlers. This was specially true of some of the fauna. Some animals were a serious menace to stock, poultry and crops. The squeal of a pig frequently meant the presence of the black bear, whose capture gave rise to favorite pioneer stories. The howling of the wolf dismayed many a newly arrived immigrant belated in the forest. Wildcats were not pleasant acquaintances, but they were less numerous in the southern than in the northern part of the peninsula.

157. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IV, 507.

158. *Ibid.*, 507.

159. *Ibid.*, VIII, 258; see D. Goss, *History of Grand Rapids* (Chicago, 1906), I, 56-57, for the early prices of furs there.

160. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 34.

Crops, especially corn, frequently suffered from the cutworm, the squirrel and the blackbird.¹⁶¹

The mosquito was a lively pest, and the carrier of disease. Rare stories are told about them by pioneers, almost equaling the bear stories in number and size. One settler after describing the Indians records his memory of the mosquito. He says:

"Another native of the woods was the blood-thirsty savages—the mosquitoes. They were the most troublesome of all the animals that infested the woods . . . They would light upon your nose and suffer you to kill them; while they died like a martyr at the stake. Their attacks were heralded by a flourish of trumpets or long trombones, when they would come down upon you in squads and hordes, ad infinitum. A settler relates his attempt to go through a belt of heavy timbered land, but ere he had advanced twenty rods, he was so beset with these bloodthirsty imps that after giving them battle with a bush for a while, he was compelled to beat a retreat, badly demoralized."¹⁶²

Mosquitoes infested especially low wet places, the vicinity of marshes and streams, the moist forest and newly plowed land. It is as the carrier of disease that the mosquito has its main significance for settlement, and the accounts left by settlers, even by pioneer doctors, show that its function in this respect was not understood. As above explained, malaria was universally attributed to the decay of vegetation caused by turning the soil. The greater assurance was felt in this as the correct cause on account of the greater pre-

161. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IV, 365; IX, 126.

162. *Ibid.*, V, 251.

valence of the disease in the plowing season and its gradual disappearance as the country became settled. Very probably, the turning of the cool moist soil to the surface especially in the vicinity of the marshes, was one of the conditions of the increase of mosquitoes in the neighborhood.

Michigan afforded conditions for all types of settlers. There was abundant opportunity for capital, but there was opportunity for the poor man. It was this opportunity that made Michigan appeal especially to the small farmers and the "hired hands" in New York and New England, who with gun, ax and team, driving with their families overland, making their clearings in the forest or the openings, were ultimately to give to Michigan its strong prosperous middle-class of farmers. The general spirit of settlement was one of satisfaction, as reflected in a toast given at Ann Arbor in 1831 at a Fourth of July celebration, "The Territory of Michigan, the Yankee's land of promise, flowing with milk and honey."¹⁶³

Yet undoubtedly this picture could be too easily colored. Hardships were many, even with all the advantages provided by nature; and to each rule of the general beneficence there were many exceptions. As one pioneer records:

"There was the failure of seed corn, and messengers sent the long journey to Ohio to obtain a further supply; there were late spring frosts cutting down the corn flat with the ground; there were excessive cold and snow in winter, floods and heat in the summer, a want of the

163. Michigan Political Science Association, *Publications*, IV, 523.

simplest medicines, of mills to grind grain for food, of salt to preserve their meat, while there was an abundance of malarial diseases to break down their strength, of pestiferous wild animals to destroy their flocks, and rumors of Indian horrors and Indian wars, to keep them fearful in daytime and awake at night. One who truly weighs the courage and fortitude with which these men, women and children met the dangers and hardships of their pioneer life will hardly after attribute to the soldier a monopoly of those qualities." ¹⁶⁴.

164. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 630.

CHAPTER II

GENERAL INFLUENCES

ONE of the most important influences in the settlement of Michigan Territory was the war of 1812. Its effects were both good and ill; temporarily it was a serious drawback. Fear of the Indians practically depopulated the territory during the war, and the settlers returning found their homes in ruins.¹ The scarcity of money was a serious embarrassment both to business and to intending settlers; the general stagnation of business is said to have resembled that which followed the crisis of 1837;² the *Detroit Gazette* of August 9, 1822, contains a typical example of the many complaints against the continued scarcity of money and the low price of grain. On the other hand, one good effect of the war was to attract attention to Michigan through the prominent part taken by Detroit. It made evident the military need of better roads,³ and led directly to the first improvements connecting Detroit with the Ohio valley. Again, many soldiers from Ohio, Ken-

1. W. L. G. Smith, *Life and times of Lewis Cass*, 107; *Journal of the Legislative Council*, 1826, p. 6; *American State Papers: Military Affairs*, I, 510; *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser*, April 4, 1832, giving a report of a select committee of Congress on the losses of Michigan during the war.

2. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I., 381.

3. News of the Battle of Tippecanoe on the Wabash just before the outbreak of the war, November 7, 1811, was not received at Detroit until a month later. *American State Papers: Indian Affairs*, I, 780.

tucky, Pennsylvania, and Virginia who had fought on the Michigan frontier remained in the Territory as settlers and wrote to friends in the East about the opportunities afforded;⁴ one of these was Lewis Cass, who as governor of Michigan Territory from 1813 to 1831 used his great energies to promote its settlement.⁵

An indirect result of the War of 1812 was the unfavorable report, widely circulated, about Michigan lands. In 1815 Edward Tiffin, surveyor general for the Northwest, reported to the National Government that there "would not be more than one acre out of a hundred, if there would be one out of a thousand that would, in any case, admit of cultivation;" for, he said, "the intermediate space between the swamps and lakes, which is probably nearly one half of the country, is, with a very few exceptions, a poor barren, sandy land, on which scarcely any vegetation grows, except very small scrubby oaks."⁶ The purpose of the survey upon which this report was based was to promote the early disposition of the Michigan bounty lands authorized by Congress for compensation to the soldiers of the war.⁷ The surveyors may have been influenced, at least in-

4. F. J. Turner, "The colonization of the West, 1820-1830," in *American Historical Review*, XI, 307; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXIII, 482.

5. A. C. McLaughlin, *Lewis Cass* (Boston, 1891), 127-129; J. H. Lanman, *Michigan*, 236.

6. *American State Papers: Public Lands*, III, 164-165.

7. *Statutes at Large*, I, 728-730. For the relation of Cass to this survey, see McLaughlin, *Lewis Cass*, 94-95; A. C. McLaughlin, "The Influence of Governor Cass on the Development of the Northwest" in *American Historical Association, Papers*, III, 315; T. M. Cooley, *Michigan* (Boston, 1885), 193. For newspaper characterization of the Tiffin report, see an editorial in the *Detroit Gazette* for July 24, 1818.

directly, by the unfavorable report made by Monroe to Jefferson prior to the organization of the Northwest Territory, who after reconnoitering in parts of the Northwest wrote: "A great part of the Territory is miserably poor, especially that near the Lakes Michigan and Erie. . . The districts, therefore, within which these fall will never contain a sufficient number of inhabitants to entitle them to membership in the confederacy."⁸

As a result of the Tiffin report President Madison recommended to Congress, that since the lands in Michigan were covered with swamps and lakes or were otherwise so unfit for cultivation that only a small proportion could be applied to the intended grants, other lands should be designated to take the place of Michigan's proportion of the military bounty lands;⁹ accordingly, three-fourths of that amount were ordered to be surveyed in the rival state of Illinois.¹⁰ The Government's disfavor towards Michigan lands doubtless became widely known, as the newspapers of the day emphasized the doings of Congress, and many eastern people were then specially anxious to know about the West. School geographies contained maps with the words "Interminable Swamp" across the interior of Michigan.¹¹ Morse's *Geography*, which was considered an authority and was widely used, featured this idea until a late period.¹² Morse's *Traveller's Guide* repre-

8. J. Monroe, *Writings* (S. M. Hamilton, ed.—New York, 1898) I, 117.

9. Special message of February 6, 1816.

10. *Statutes at Large*, III, 332.

11. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 381; XXII, 542.

12. Cooley, *Michigan*, 192-193.

sented sand hills "extending into the interior as far as the dividing ridge . . . sometimes crowned with a few stunted trees, and a scanty vegetation, but generally bare, and thrown by the wind into a thousand fantastic shapes."¹³

The immediate effects upon settlement were of course unfavorable. The traveler William Darby, writing from Detroit in August, 1818, says that during more than a month in which he had been traveling between Geneva (New York) and Detroit, he had seen hundreds going west, but "not one in fifty with the intention of settling in Michigan Territory."¹⁴ For the time being the tide of immigration turned aside from Michigan with its "interminable swamp" and "sand hills" and favored Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.

One of the earliest and strongest influences to counteract these reports was the Lewis Cass expedition of 1820. Cass warmly criticised the Tiffin report, writing to the Government that the lands of Michigan had been "grossly misrepresented"¹⁵ Upon his motion new surveys were begun in the vicinity of Detroit in 1816 and public sales were opened for the surveyed portion in 1818. In the same year an exploring party apparently under his auspices dispelled illusions about the country back of Detroit.¹⁶ In 1819 national aid was secured for an extended examination of the soil, minerals, and In-

13. J. Morse, *Traveller's Guide* (New Haven, 1826), 169.

14. W. Darby, *A Tour from the City of New-York to Detroit in the Michigan Territory*. . . 1818 (New York, 1819), 200.

15. McLaughlin, "Influence of Cass on the Development of the Northwest," 347.

16. See an article in the *Detroit Gazette* for July 18, 1823, referring to the exploration of 1818 in the rear of Detroit, attributing the enterprise largely to the interest of Cass.

dian conditions over a route of some five thousand miles through the interior, accomplished in 1820.¹⁷ The result gave to men vitally connected with the government of the Territory and influential with the National Government a first-hand knowledge of the region where the Tiffin surveyors were supposed to have worked, and impressed upon them more firmly a lesson of the War of 1812, the need of a national military road between Detroit and Chicago. Since the expedition was made partly under national auspices, its report had a semiofficial character; the interest which it excited is indicated by the sale within thirty days of the entire edition of Schoolcraft's *Summary Narrative* published in 1821 at Albany, which is said to have found its way to Europe.¹⁸

Accounts of travel through Michigan preceding Cass's expedition were on the whole too general to have much influence with settlers, yet there were some exceptions. Estwick Evans wrote in his *Pedestrious Tour* in 1818: "In travelling more than four thousand

17. Smith, *Life and Times of Lewis Cass*, contains much of the preliminary correspondence with Calhoun, then secretary of war, about the expedition. The official journal of the expedition kept by James Duane Doty, secretary of the Territorial legislature of Michigan, is contained in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XIII, 163 *et seq.* See also Henry R. Schoolcraft's *Summary Narrative of an Exploratory Expedition to the Sources of the Mississippi River in 1820* (Albany, 1821). Good brief accounts may be found in McLaughlin's *Lewis Cass*, 115-119; J. V. Campbell, *Outlines of the Political History of Michigan* (Detroit, 1876), 400-404; W. T. Young, *Sketch of the Life and Public Services of General Lewis Cass* (Detroit, 1852), 85-88; *Detroit Gazette*, May 26, 1820.

18. *Outlines of the Life and Character of General Lewis Cass* (Albany, 1848), 24.

miles, in the western parts of the United States, I met no tract of country which, upon the whole, impressed my mind so favorably as the Michigan Territory. . . . The soil of the territory is generally fertile, and a considerable proportion of it is very rich.”¹⁹ Of “Travels” before 1837 the most important for the correction of false impressions about Michigan were those of McKenney, Hoffman, and Martineau. Some of the early guidebooks for travelers and settlers were very favorable to Michigan. An important one of these was by Samuel R. Brown, published at Auburn, New York, in 1817; in 1820 there appeared in London an anonymous *Guide for English emigrants to America* obviously based upon it.²⁰

Newspaper articles favorable to Michigan early found their way through the eastern press. For example; the

19. E. Evans, *Pedestrious Tour*, 119, quoted from R. G. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904-1907), VIII, 220. Evans' work was published at Concord, New Hampshire, in 1819.

20. The English *Guide* gives to Ohio thirty-five pages, to Indiana nineteen, to Michigan ten, and to Illinois nine. Compare pages 688, 689, 694 respectively with pages 155, 156-157, and 165 in S. R. Brown, *The Western Gazetteer* (Auburn, 1817). See also J. Melish's *A Geographical description of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1818), 137, where the climate is described as “temperate and healthy” and the soil “generally rich and fertile.” The ignorance of the interior is revealed by the statement that “in the center, the land is high, from whence there is a descent in all directions;” and an equal poverty of knowledge is revealed in the articles in the *Detroit Gazette* prior to 1820, which, while they try to favor the lands, are limited in descriptive matter to those close to the eastern shore. See for another instance the numbers of November 21, 1817, May 7 and 14, November 26, and December 3, 1819.

New York *Spectator* is quoted in the Detroit *Gazette* of March 21, 1823, as saying in regard to the belief that Michigan offered favorable opportunities to emigrants: "Perhaps no stronger argument can be urged in support of this belief than merely to state the fact that a barrel of potashes, flour, or other produce can be transported from Detroit to Buffalo with as little expense through Lake Erie as a like quantity can be transported by land in the western part of this state to the canal from places which lie twenty-five or thirty miles from the canal route."²¹ The motive which actuated at least some New York papers is seen in the following quotation from the Buffalo *Journal* (1825): When it is considered that all the fruits of that vast region are to reach the sea coast by Lake Erie and the New York Canal (the junction of whose waters is formed in our village) and that the corresponding returns of goods are to reach their destination by the same route, we may naturally be supposed to look with some degree of rapture on the present growth and increasing population of Michigan."²²

By about 1825 the effects of the Tiffin report in the East had begun to wane. That year is marked by the appearance of John Farmer's maps and gazetteers of Michigan, published at Detroit, which it is said had by 1830 reached a demand in the local markets of Boston, Providence, Hartford, New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Washington, Albany, Rochester, Buffalo,

21. See other quotations in the Detroit *Gazette* for May 4, 1821; June 7, 1822; July 18, 1823; and September 19, 1823.

22. Quoted in the Detroit *Gazette*, September 20, 1825.

Cleveland, and Erie, that could hardly be supplied.²³ Many copies of the *Detroit Gazette*, founded at Detroit in 1817, had found their way to the East.²⁴ Other counter-influences were letters from successful pioneers, published in eastern papers, reports made by settlers revisiting their old homes in the East, the circulars of land speculators, and not least the later reports of the United States surveyors and their personal interest in promoting settlement. New editions of Morse's *Geography* were favorable to Michigan.²⁵ There is evidence in shipments of flour from Michigan to the East as early as 1833 and in the increase of population shown by the censuses of 1830, 1834, and 1837 that by the date of Michigan's admission to the Union the popular opinion about her lands had been fairly reversed.

23. S. Farmer, *History of Detroit and Michigan* (Detroit, 1890), I, 335, 698. There is a photograph of the John Farmer map of 1826 in *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, vol. XXXVIII, opposite p. 636. A little while before appeared Orange Risdon's map, a copy of which is in the same volume, opposite p. 635. Risdon published much of his data, obtained by travel in the Territory in 1823, in several eastern newspapers, according to the *Detroit Gazette*, January 16, 1824. Another map of about this time was made by Philu E. Judd, of which a copy is in the same volume opposite p. 634. The making of these maps is indicative of the new impulse to immigration which came about the time of the opening of the Erie Canal.

24. Other Detroit newspapers of the period were the *Michigan Herald*, the *Courier*, the *Journal and Courier*, the *North-western Journal*, the *Free Press*, the *Daily Advertiser*, and the *Journal and Michigan Advertiser*. For a list of Michigan newspapers for this period with critical comment see Farmer, *History of Detroit*, I, 670-677. An account of the *Detroit Gazette* is given on pp. 671-672. The issue of the *Detroit Gazette* for November 21, 1823, states that six copies are sent weekly to subscribers in Washington.

25. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IV, 480-481.

Along with the unfavorable reports about lands had gone ill-tidings of the continued Indian depredations. The massacres at the River Raisin and at Fort Dearborn had impressed especially the minds of women and children, and in 1832 the Black Hawk war caused rumors of a possible invasion of Michigan and of a rising of the Indians.²⁶ It would be true to human nature to suppose that these fears and desires would often cause the head of a family to hesitate about emigrating to Michigan; but in reality the spirit of the Michigan Indians was cowed by the American success in the recent war, and their ferocity had largely burned out. The *Detroit Gazette* attempted to allay fears by setting forth the groundlessness of the prevalent anticipations of renewed Indian hostilities.²⁷

The relation of the National Government with the Michigan Indians was complicated by several things: by their dissatisfaction with the treaty of 1807, by their recent alliance with the British against the Americans, and by the belief of the Indians in the power and generosity of the British because of the continued distribu-

26. *Ibid.*

27. See editorial for April 3, 1818; also a good general description of the character and condition of the Indians of eastern Michigan, by a contemporary, in the *Gazette*, February 8, 1822. For relations of the settlers and the Indians, see Harriet Martineau, *Society in America*, I, 329; II, 25. *Detroit Gazette*, May 29, 1818, June 11, 1819; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 655-658; report of the surveyors of the Chicago Road, *Detroit Gazette*, March 18 and 25, 1825. For the civil status of the Indian and his relation to the states of the Union, see decisions cited in T. Donaldson's *Public Domain* (Washington, 1881), 240.

tion of large quantities of presents among them;²⁸ in 1829 sixty tons of presents were distributed in which the Michigan Indians shared.²⁹ This policy appears to have been followed as late as 1839, in attempts to defeat the American treaties with the Indians.³⁰ The situation required a government agent of great patience and tact who thoroughly understood the Indian character and who should have a genuine sympathetic interest. Lewis Cass possessed these qualifications in a marked degree, and in his capacity as Indian agent he rendered exceptional services to the settlement of Michigan, negotiating a score of treaties.³¹

The Indian title to the lower peninsula was with slight exceptions extinguished by four treaties, those of 1807, 1819, 1821, and 1836. The so-called treaty of Detroit (1807) ceded southeastern Michigan, west as far as the principal meridian and north as far as a line running from a point on the western boundary of the present Shiawassee County northeasterly to White

28. See a statement by Cass to the Secretary of War, October 21, 1820, in Schoolcraft's *Summary Narrative*, 280. The Indians are represented as generally friendly, but less so as the point of contact with the British is approached. See accounts of their visits to Malden in the *Detroit Gazette*, November 21, 1823; August 2, 1825. The latter contains a long editorial on the policy of the British.

29. McLaughlin, "Influence of Cass on the Development of the Northwest", 323.

30. McLaughlin, *Lewis Cass*, 108, 110.

31. Smith, *Life and times of Lewis Cass*, 128-130; *American State Papers: Indian Affairs*, II, 224; Schoolcraft, *Summary Narrative*, 79-80; R. B. Ross and G. B. Catlin, *Landmarks of Detroit* (Detroit, 1898); L. M. Mathews, *Expansion of New England* (Boston, 1909), 231; Bureau of American Ethnology, *Eighteenth Annual Report*, pt. 2, *passim*.

Rock on Lake Huron.³² In 1819 the treaty of Saginaw ceded a large part of central Michigan including the remainder of the Saginaw region and extending as far north as the headwaters of the Thunder Bay River.³³ Practically all the land still remaining south of Grand River was ceded by the treaty of Chicago in 1821,³⁴ and nearly all remaining north of it by the treaty of Washington in 1836.³⁵ In these treaties numerous small pieces of land were reserved to the Indian tribes and some grants were made to individuals of Indian descent.³⁶ The reservations were ceded as settlement pressed upon them, and the tribal Indians were removed to western reservations about 1840.³⁷

32. *Ibid.*, 674. Prior to this time there had been in the hands of the Government only a narrow strip six miles wide along the water front, extending from the Raisin to the vicinity of Lake St. Clair, which was ceded in 1795. *Ibid.* 654.
33. The southern boundary of the cession extended west from the prime meridian to the vicinity of Kalamazoo. Bureau of American Ethnology, *Eighteenth Annual Report*, pt. 2, 698.
34. *Ibid.*, 702.
35. *Ibid.*, 756. For the principal minor treaties affecting the lower peninsula, see *ibid.*, 699, 740, 764, and the *American State Papers: Indian Affairs*, II, 72, 131, 677. The former contains colored plates showing the areas of the different cessions. There is a fairly accurate map showing the four larger cessions in *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, vol. XXVI, opposite p. 275.
36. Bureau of American Ethnology, *Eighteenth Annual Report*, pt. 2, 702; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXVI, 291.
37. See report of Henry R. Schoolcraft, Acting Superintendent of Indian Affairs, on the removal of the Indians from Michigan, in *Michigan Joint Document* (1841), No. 1, pp. 61-86. The question of removal was advocated by Isaac McCoy, of the Baptist mission near Niles, from the time white settlement began to encroach upon the mission. See his statement of the motives of removal in his *History of the Baptist Indian Missions* (Washington, 1840), 265,

The most serious check upon settlement due to the Indians since the War of 1812 came from an uprising of the Sacs and Foxes under Black Hawk in 1832.³⁸ The Indians had just passed over the Chicago Trail homeward bound from Malden, where they had received their annual presents from the British, among other things arms and ammunition. The circumstances suggested to Michigan settlers that as a natural maneuver the Indians would retreat along the Chicago Road into Canada for a safer base of operations, in which case there might be expected depredations along the road, and possibly an uprising of the Potawatomi. Memories of Indian horrors spread panic, especially among the women and children. Travel on the road fell off rapidly and intending settlers turned to Ohio.³⁹ A letter from a militia leader written in 1832 from White Pigeon in St. Joseph County, says: "The injury done to this part of the Territory by the exaggerated reports of danger from the hostile bands of Indians will not be cured for two years to come, and the unnecessary movements of our militia are calculated to spread far and near this alarm." Michigan militia were mustered at Niles but they did not leave Michigan; Black Hawk was defeated and captured by the United States troops

38. There is a brief, judicial account of the Black Hawk war in *Magazine of Western History*, 5.

39. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VI 239; XVIII, 606; XXX, 456. H. P. Collin, *A Twentieth Century History and Biographical Record of Branch County, Michigan* (Chicago, 1906), 27, 29.

321, 323. See also an article by Lewis Cass on removal of Indians, in the *North American Review* for January, 1830 (XXX, 62-121).

before he reached Chicago, when the resistance of his followers collapsed.⁴⁰

But the results of this outbreak for the settlement of Michigan were not wholly bad. Accounts of the "war" in newspapers, pamphlets, and books called attention to the country occupied by the Sac and Fox Indians westward from Michigan, and the summary way in which the National Government demonstrated its control of the Indians gave to intending settlers, renewed assurance—especially to foreigners, whose imaginations had exaggerated the danger from the Indians.⁴¹

The influence of the Black Hawk war is not easy to separate from that of the cholera epidemic of the same year. It was probably the cholera as much as fear of the Indians that checked travel on the Chicago Road.⁴² A large part of the troops under Scott which were sent against Black Hawk died of cholera in and about Detroit; others, panic stricken, deserted; it is estimated that half of the entire force died.⁴³ The ravages elsewhere in Michigan seem to have been equally severe. Many settlements established armed guards, allowing no one to pass in or out; fences were built across the roads from Detroit and travelers were halted at the point of the gun.⁴⁴

40. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 234, 235.

41. H. F. Thomas, *History of Allegan County* (Chicago, 1907), 31.

42. Collin, *History of Branch County*, 30. There was a repetition of the epidemic in 1834, making a combination of influences that was felt even after 1835. These epidemics spread westward from Asia, reaching Michigan through Canada.

43. Campbell, *Political History of Michigan*, 449.

44. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXVIII, 169; Farmer, *History of Detroit*, I, 49; Ross and Catlin, *Landmarks of Detroit*, 380-382; *Detroit Free Press*, July 19, 1832.

A very important task of the National Government in the interests of settlement, for which the extinction of Indian titles and the military protection of the frontier were preliminary, was the survey and sale of lands. Cass had accompanied his criticism of the Tiffin survey with urgent advice to the Government for an immediate surveying of lands in the vicinity of Detroit and the establishing of a land office as soon as the surveys should advance far enough. A petition, circulated at his instance and signed by prominent men in the Territory in 1818, secured the Government's attention, and public sales were opened in that year.⁴⁵ By 1818 two years of work on the new surveys had made practically all the land in the present eastern shore counties ready for the market;⁴⁶ by 1821 more than two and a quarter millions of acres had been surveyed; and a decade later the survey was completed for about ten million acres

45 Smith, *Life and times of Lewis Cass*, 113; McLaughlin, "Influence of Cass on the Development of the Northwest," 318; McLaughlin, *Lewis Cass*, 96. For phases of the land question prior to 1818, see *American State Papers: Public Lands*, I, 248, 267-269, 282.

46. For brief descriptions of the rectangular system of survey in Michigan, see Tackabury's *Atlas*, 6-7; Blois, *Gazetteer*, 65-70. Besides its obvious importance in enabling settlers to locate their lands, this system had significance for local government. The base line in Michigan follows along the northern boundary of Wayne County due west and forms the boundary between counties throughout its entire length. At distances of twenty-four miles on each side, other parallels form similar boundaries throughout most of their length. Eastern and western county boundaries are formed by meridians running at right angles, in many cases making counties almost exact squares. Similarly, parallels and meridians divide the counties into squares of six miles on a side, forming "Government townships," which in most cases have be-

of the seventeen and a half million that had been ceded to the Government.⁴⁷

As the surveys advanced and more land was ready for the market, new land offices were established; at Monroe in 1823, at White Pigeon in 1831, at Kalamazoo in 1834, and at Flint and Ionia in 1836. The first represents a movement of population into the country of the Raisin River Valley, the second out along the Chicago Road, the third along the Territorial Road, the fourth into the Saginaw Valley, the fifth into the Grand River region.⁴⁸ The opening of the land office at Kalamazoo in 1834 marks the beginning of a new period in the settlement of western Michigan.⁴⁹

The laws regulating the sales of land in Michigan before 1820 were not conducive to the best interests of settlement. The claims of the squatter were not only not recognized, but his land and improvements were legally liable to forfeiture.⁵⁰ The settler of small means was at a decided disadvantage, since the lands were sold only in comparatively large parcels and at auction to

47. *American State Papers: Public Lands*, III, 533; *Historical and Scientific Sketches of Michigan* (Detroit, 1834), 165. The field notes of the surveyors, deposited at Lansing in 1857 upon the completion of the survey of Michigan, are of first importance for early physiographic conditions.

48. For jurisdiction see Blois, *Gazetteer*, 71-73; *Detroit Gazette*, July 18, 1823; Risdon's map of Michigan (1825).

49. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XVIII, 612.

50. *Magazine of Western History*, VI, 397.

come units for township governments. This result was secured by the policy of following the township lines in establishing the original areas for township government, however unequal these areas, which makes easier the use of the organization of township government to measure, in a general way, comparative rates of settlement in different areas.

the highest bidder. The fact that land could be bought on credit encouraged speculation, and the best land would tend to go into the hands of a few men of large actual or prospective means. The family man of small means with intention to settle was not likely to speculate even on credit, since his death or the deferment of payments for other reasons would forfeit both lands and improvements. He was more likely to wait his chance at the expiration of the given term of sale when the unsold lands would be put on the market at two dollars an acre, fifty cents at the time of entry and the balance in one, two, and three years, with interest.⁵¹ In order to avoid the cost and difficulties of collecting arrears, to check speculation, to open the best land on equal terms to all, to avoid the poor man's having to forfeit lands for deferred payments and to enable him to buy in small parcels, the credit system was by act of Congress (1820) to be discontinued;⁵² all lands were to

51. Donaldson, *Public Domain*, 203-205; *History of Oakland County* (Philadelphia, 1876), 130; *Detroit Gazette*, May 8, 1818.

52. *Statutes at Large*, III, 566. See a monograph by Emerich, on "The Credit System and the Public Domain," in Vanderbilt Southern Historical Society, *Publications*, No. 3, quoted by Mr. Turner in "The Colonization of the West," in *American Historical Review*, XI, 313, n. 2. The *Detroit Gazette* of September 24, 1819, hints at a condition which may have stimulated the repeal of the credit system. A writer, signing himself "Franklin" suggests that the immense indebtedness of the people of the West to the Government for the land, due to the credit system, may form cause for separation from the Union to escape the debt; especially if the people are shown that the original states had no right to the land, and that the West is eminently fitted for independence.

be sold at \$1.25 the acre, and in parcels as small as eighty acres.

It still remained to give legal protection to the squatter. The squatter was the extreme advance guard of settlement whose services often took the keen edge from the hardships of later comers accustomed to the settled life of an old community. In a rude way, by a custom that had the effect of law, the squatters instituted a degree of self-protection. A settler who would disregard the right of a squatter to purchase his claim when it came on the market would soon find it unpleasant to stay in the community.⁵³ But the speculator was not easily made amendable to this custom and often took advantage of his immunity to beat the squatter out of a home. Congressional attention to this abuse began effectively with the preemption act of 1830.⁵⁴

It would be expected, under the influence of the Erie Canal, the acceleration of steam navigation on Lake Erie, and the survey of the Chicago Road, that sales would rapidly increase from 1825 to 1830. What took place was quite the opposite;⁵⁵ the sales at the Detroit

53. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VI, 424; L. H. Glover, *A Twentieth Century History of Cass County, Michigan* (Chicago, 1906), 107.

54. Donaldson, *Public Domain*, 214, 215. There is a brief treatment of "The national preemption system," in *Magazine of Western History*, VI, 396-399.

55. The amounts of sale for the whole Territory from 1830-1834 were: 1831: 252,211.44 acres; 1832: 316,081.89 acres; 1833: 447,780.17 acres; 1834: 351,951.32 acres. (*American State Papers: Public Lands*, VI, 628; VII, 329-330.) The *Detroit Gazette* of June 20, 1826, attributes the falling off in amount of purchases in 1826 to hard times in

land office may be taken as typical. In 1820 there were sold at that office 2,860 acres; sales ran rapidly up from 7,444 acres in 1821 to 20,068 in 1822; the increase continued until in 1825 they reached 92,332 acres. From this point there was a steady falling off until 1830, when 70,441 acres were sold. But with a sudden impulse sales mounted in the following year to 217,943 acres. Then, probably under the influence of the Black Hawk war and the epidemics of cholera in 1832 and 1834, there was a gradual decline. But again, in 1835 sales suddenly leaped to 405,331 acres, and in 1836 to nearly one and a half million acres.⁵⁶ In the year 1835-36 Michigan shared in a phenomenon of increased land sales that was national in extent. The largest total of sales was made in Michigan.⁵⁷ This seems plausibly explained by the comparatively small amount of land remaining unsold in the older areas, and by the comparatively slight knowledge of lands farther west; also by the stage of Michigan's settlement, her lands being accessible with comparative ease and well enough known to be properly valued.⁵⁸

There was undoubtedly a large element of speculation in these purchases even before 1835. According to

56. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 74; J. P. MacCabe, *Directory of the City of Detroit* (Detroit, 1837), 86. The amount of sales given by Blois for 1833 is obviously a typographical error.

57. Donaldson, *Public Domain*, 215, 216; R. Adams, "Agriculture in Michigan," in Michigan Political Science Association, *Publications*, III, 173.

58. *Ibid.*

55. *Con.* the East, which made it difficult for intending emigrants to convert their produce and property into ready money. A retardation of immigration due to this cause was anticipated in the same paper May 23, 1826.

an apparently authoritative account speculation had reached only "a gentle breeze" in 1834, but increased "to a gale in 1835, to a storm in 1836, to a change of wind and an adverse tornado in 1837."⁵⁹ A serious financial crisis as a result of Jackson's financial policy appears to have been anticipated in Michigan as early as 1833. "We regret to find," says the editor of the *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser*, November 27, "that a general feeling of apprehension is felt and expressed by the city papers, of serious embarrassment in the money market." Other editorial protests and prophecies followed.⁶⁰ But money, in bank notes,⁶¹ became as plentiful as "strawberries in June"⁶² and everybody continued to seem prosperous. Banks were chartered at all the principal centers of settlement and increased in number rapidly after the general banking law of 1837.⁶³ Under this law, which among other things provided "that whenever any person or persons, resident of this State, shall be desirous of establishing a bank, such person or persons shall be at liberty to meet without interruption, open books and subscribe to the capital stock of such bank," much unscrupulous swindling appears to have taken place. Many banks whose promoters had little or no intention of redeem-

59. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IV, 174.

60. For example, the *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser*, April 9, 1834; the *Detroit Journal and Courier*, September 12, 1835.

61. See description of the "financial zoology" of the time—wild cat, red dog, etc.—in *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 190; and *History of Hillsdale County* (Philadelphia, 1880), 41.

62. See Harriet Martineau's experience, June, 1836, in *Society in America*, I, 327.

63. *Session Laws*, 1838, p. 24.

ing their notes were set up at points difficult to reach or to find; capital was often not paid in; notes were issued in gross excess; security was frequently poor, or not furnished; and the bank inspectors were imposed upon by all sorts of trickery.⁶⁴

The crisis was precipitated in the East by the issue of Jackson's specie circular on July 11, 1836, and the effect was not long in reaching Michigan. The *Detroit Daily Advertiser* of October 15 observes that "the banks of Detroit do not discount the best paper which is offered. This has been the case for several months past." Public officers were authorized by the circular to receive only coin; bank notes therefore would not buy Government land. But the real crisis came when Michigan banks in 1837 began to suspend specie payments⁶⁵ and rapidly to fail. Bank notes became so valueless that in grim humor some investors who but a little while before were supposedly rich used them for wall paper.⁶⁶ Land became a drug on the market and panic prices prevailed.⁶⁷ The laboring and farming classes appear to have been the heaviest losers, not having the means to keep abreast of news regarding the condition of the

64. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 160. See also *ibid.*, XXXII, 254; *Magazine of Western History*, III, 202; Cooley, *Michigan*, 268-269; Ross and Catlin, *Landmarks of Detroit*, 439.

65. H. M. Utley and B. M. Cutcheon, *Michigan as Province, Territory and State* (New York, 1906), III, 88.

66. According to tradition, Louis Campau of Grand Rapids papered the cupola of his house with them saying: "If you won't circulate, you shall stay still." *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXX, 294. See also *ibid.*, XXII, 547.

67. *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, 368-369; *History of Hillsdale County* (Phila., 1879), 42.

banks.⁶⁸ But the crisis was not an unmixed evil for settlement. The immense speculations and immigrations of the period, stimulated by easy money, had brought great numbers of settlers before the crash came who still remained to aid the new State to recover from disaster, and to help build a prosperous commonwealth.

Even more striking than land sales as illustrating the rate of settlement in Michigan are the very rapid changes that were made in the means of transportation, both from the East to Michigan and from the lake shores to the interior. A period within a dozen years witnessed a transformation from the birchbark canoe to steam navigation on the Great lakes, and from the Indian trail to the railroad.⁶⁹ While such changes were partly a cause of settlement they were largely the result of the demands of settlement, actual as well as prospective.⁷⁰

68. *Michigan as Province, Territory and State*, III, 105; Cooley, *Michigan*, 272-273.

69. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IX, 165.

70. There is a good general survey of the early improvements of transportation in Michigan in R. Adams, "Agriculture in Michigan," in Michigan Political Science Association, *Publications*, III, 177-183. The *Detroit Gazette* of April 9, 1824, laments the small interest in road building, affirming that roads are improved only where absolutely necessary, and only enough there to make them barely passable. For use of the canoe on Michigan waters see *Magazine of Western History*, XI, 389, 390; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 125. See J. L. Ringwalt, *Development of transportation Systems in the United States* (Philadelphia, 1888), 5-15 for the early systems of water transportation. For the French Canadian pony cart and ox team see *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 383-384; XXII, 487; *Magazine of Western History*, VI, 391.

The navigation of the Great Lakes by steam marked a new era in the settlement of Michigan. Significant was it that the first steamboat from Buffalo arrived at Detroit in 1818, in the year of opening public land sales there. According to the *Detroit Gazette* for June 2 and 23, 1820, the usual time from Buffalo to Detroit was two and a half days and the fare fifteen dollars; the fare from Detroit to Mackinac was twenty dollars. The trip could be made from Boston to Detroit in fifteen days. The *Gazette* of May 8, 1818, states the cost of transporting goods from Albany to Detroit as four dollars and a half per hundred weight. In 1825-26 there came a sudden impulse apparently due to the opening of the Erie Canal, when the number of steamers on Lake Erie increased from one to six.⁷¹ In 1836 ninety steamers are said to have arrived at Detroit in May bearing settlers to Michigan and the West.⁷²

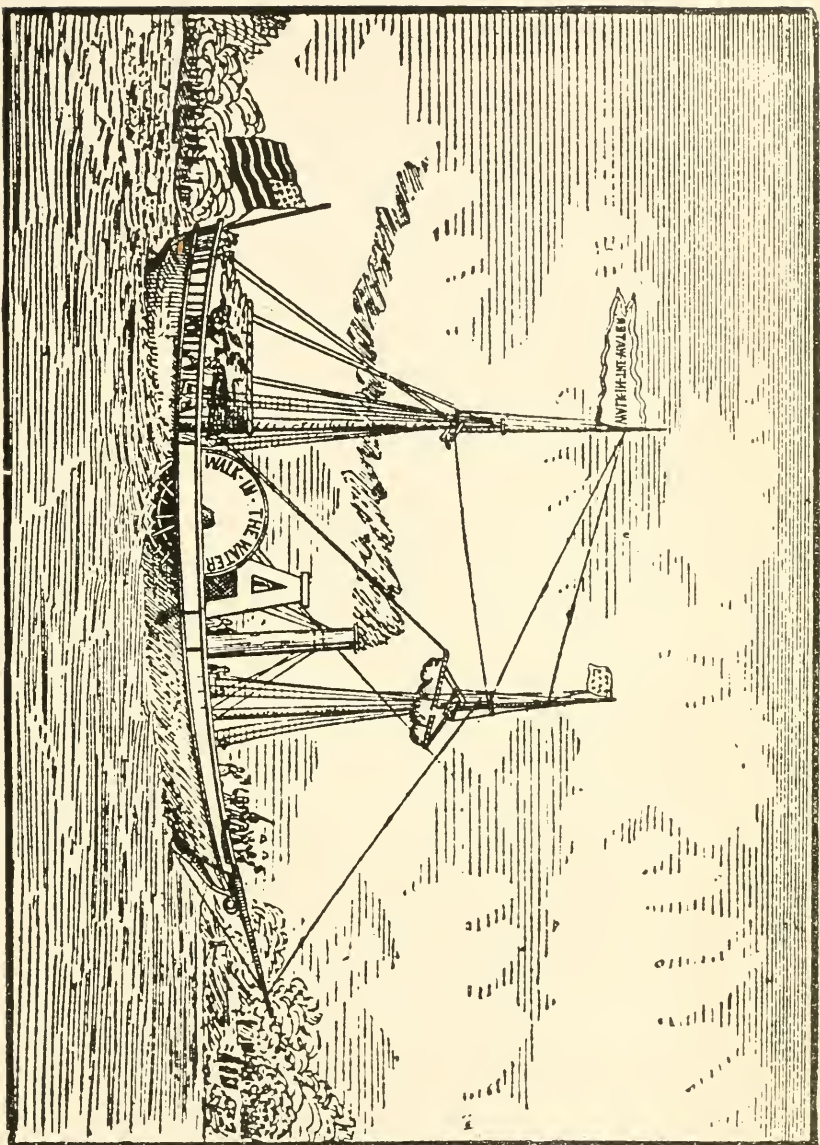
The growth of steamboat travel may be measured by the number of passengers. The first trip of *Walk-in-the-Water* in 1818 brought to Detroit twenty-nine passengers; the *Superior*, which took her place after she was wrecked in 1821, brought ninety-four passengers' in 1822;⁷³ in 1830 from April 1 to May 12 twenty-four hundred intending settlers were landed at Detroit;⁷⁴ in the following year in one week in May steamboat ar-

71. Farmer, *History of Detroit*, I, 909. Another account gives three for 1827. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXV, 273. There is a good treatment of navigation on Lake Erie before 1829 in *ibid.*, IV, 79.

72. Farmer, *History of Detroit*, I, 909.

73. *Ibid.*

74. *Detroit Journal*, May 12, 1830, quoted in Michigan Political Science Association, *Publications*, IV, 521.



WALK-IN-THE-WATER.

(Ketchum's *Annals of Fort Mackinac*, Smith ed., 35.)

First steamboat on the Great Lakes. Launched at Black Rock above Niagara Falls May 28, 1818. Arrived at Detroit August 27, 1818. Ran regularly between Buffalo and Detroit until destroyed in a storm in the fall of 1821. Marks the beginning of steam navigation on the Great Lakes. See p. 70.

rivals numbered about two thousand.⁷⁵ In 1834, in one day, October 7, there arrived at the same port nine hundred passengers.⁷⁶

The growing importance of the region of the Great Lakes is reflected in tourist's guidebooks. It was about 1830 apparently when the trip on the Great Lakes began to be considered worth while by tourists, but not until about 1837 do we find it very heartily recommended.⁷⁷ Lake navigation was considerably hampered by the necessity of closing down for some four or five months in the winter.⁷⁸ Usually boats began to arrive at Detroit from Buffalo the last of April or the first of May⁷⁹ and continued to arrive until late in November.

The settlement of the western part of Michigan was much aided by the comparative ease of transportation afforded by lakes Huron and Michigan especially for household goods and heavy merchandise. Goods were landed at the river mouths and thence transported in canoes, pole boats, or small steamers up the rivers. *Walk-in-the-Water* in 1819 took freight and passengers to Mackinac,⁸⁰ a trip widely anticipated with much curiosity; the *Gazette* of May 14, 1819, quotes from a New York paper: "The swift steamboat Walk-in-the Water is intended to make a voyage, early in the sum-

75. Detroit *Free Press*, May 19, 1831, quoted in Farmer, *History of Detroit*, I, 335.

76. *Ibid.*

77. E. Channing and M. T. Lansing, *Story of the Great Lakes* (New York, 1909), 268.

78. *Ibid.*, 268, 271; Detroit *Daily Advertiser*, December 20, 1836.

79. Detroit *Gazette*, May 12, 1820; May 18, 1821; April 4, 1823; April 2, 1824.

80. Campbell, *Political History of Michigan*, 400.

mer, from Buffalo, on Lake Erie, to Michilimackinac on Lake Huron, for the conveyance of company. The trip has so near a resemblance to the famous Argonautic expedition in the heroic ages of Greece, that expectation is quite alive on the subject. Many of our most distinguished citizens are said to have already engaged their passage for this splendid adventure." There was subsequently a considerable commerce by steam on the upper lakes.⁸¹ According to an editorial in the *Detroit Journal and Courier* of July 1, 1835, "a trip on the upper lakes at this season has become quite fashionable. The establishment of a regular line of first rate Steam Boats between Buffalo and Chicago affords a fine opportunity for travellers to visit the rich scenery so beautifully described by Cass, Schoolcraft and others."⁸²

The opening of the Erie Canal, completing an all-water route between Michigan and the Atlantic Ocean,

81. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXI, 336. For boats on Lake Michigan see the *Detroit Gazette* of August 29, 1817, which announces the intended departure of the schooner *Hercules* for Mackinac and Chicago. The same paper for May 18, 1821, says that fourteen schooners recently left Detroit laden with merchandise and produce for Michilimackinac and ports on Lake Michigan. The *Northwestern Journal*, December 2, 1829, records a trip made by the schooner *Detroit* from Chicago to Detroit in twenty-three days. The first steamboat trip on Lake Michigan was one to Green Bay in 1830, mentioned in the *Northwestern Journal* for July 14, 1830. See also *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XII, 317; XXX, 573 *et. seq.*; Collin, *History of Branch County*, 34; Turner, "The colonization of the West," in *American Historical Review*, XI, 312.

82. Harriet Martineau, however, made the trip from Chicago to Buffalo in June, 1836, in the sailing vessel, *Milwaukee*, which she says was the only sailing vessel available. *Society in America*, II, 2.

gave to lake navigation and to western settlement a new impulse. This canal was begun about the time that *Walk-in-the-Water* arrived at Detroit and opened to traffic seven years later.⁸³ It is very probable that settlement was largely stimulated by anticipation of what this would mean.⁸⁴ The significance of it for the settlement of Michigan was that it changed the direction of western emigration from the Ohio Valley to the line of the Canal and the Great Lakes.⁸⁵ Michigan would therefore profit directly from the interception of many settlers who had originally planned to go farther west. Especially would this interception be favored by the national survey of the Chicago Road about the same time. Transportation on the Canal was comparatively cheap⁸⁶ and great numbers of New England and New York pioneers who came to Michigan after 1825 speak of having used the canal boat to Buffalo.

The favorite route overland from the East to Lake Erie was by way of the Mohawk and Genesee Turn-

83. Channing and Lansing, *Story of the Great Lakes*, 251-265.

The *Detroit Gazette* for August 16, 1817, quoting from the *Albany Daily Advertiser*, notes that work is progressing on the Erie Canal—"The Grand Western Canal." Five hundred men are reported at work.

84. T. E. Wing, *History of Monroe County, Michigan* (New York, 1890), 200.

85. Collin, *History of Branch County*, 33. The effect of the greater capacity of the canal and lake transportation was such that the northern route had taken precedence over the southern by about 1832, as shown by the transportation of troops for the Black Hawk war. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 145.

86. Turner "The Colonization of the West," in *American Historical Review*, XI, 312.

pike,⁸⁷ from the terminus of which the traveler might take his choice of routes along either the northern or southern shores of Lake Erie. In both cases he would have to cross the many streams flowing into the lake from either side, and would be aided little by bridges.⁸⁸ Swamps, if not numerous, were not scarce. Little improvement seems to have been made in the Canadian route since Sir William Johnson required in 1761 thirty-nine full days to move a small body of troops in the most favorable season from Niagara to Detroit.⁸⁹ General Hull, approaching from the other direction in 1812, moved his troops but an average of four miles a day from the rapids of the Miami to Detroit.⁹⁰

In the improvement of Michigan rivers and in attempts to build canals not very much was done before 1837, but in the years immediately following, a very great number of such improvements were undertaken by the Territorial and State governments of Michigan. That such elaborate attention should be given to canal and river navigation can be understood best in the light of the success of the Erie Canal and of the difficulties attending land transportation before the days of the railroad.⁹¹

87. *Ibid.*, XI, 311. In *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 591-592, is given a good brief discussion of early routes from the East to the Central West. See also *ibid.*, XXXVIII, 142.

88. *Magazine of Western History*, II, 578-580.

89. *Ibid.*, 579. Compare a trip made by lumber wagon in 1835. F. Ellis, *History of Livingston County* (Philadelphia, 1880), 138.

90. *Magazine of Western History*, II, 580.

91. The completion of the Erie Canal set other states to making canals often when there was little chance of successful operation. (Ringwalt, *Early Transportation*, 45, 46.) The *Detroit Gazette* of February 4, 1835, gives an account

The first improvements of roads in Michigan were made by the National Government for military purposes. The earliest of these naturally were made where the greatest need was felt. The War of 1812 had taught the strategic importance of connecting Detroit with the Ohio Valley; the first road established therefore, in 1818, extended from Detroit through Monroe to the rapids of the Miami. The first line of stages began to run over this road shortly after the Erie Canal was opened.⁹² By 1830 there was a continuous road,

92. Wing, *History of Monroe County*, 137. See Cass's letter to the War Department in *American State Papers: Miscellaneous*, II, 596; also the *Detroit Gazette* of January 30, 1818, urging a National road between Detroit and Sandusky. The condition of travel on that route in 1818 is described from personal observation, by Estwick Evans, in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, VIII, 209. The position of the first road is shown on the Risdon map of 1825 as running from one to three miles from the shore. Apparently its improvement was very slow; Monroe citizens complained in 1822 that it was almost impassable for wagons even in good weather on account of logs, stumps, and deep holes, and in fall and spring almost impassable on horseback. (*Detroit Gazette*, April 19, 1822). See Cass's description of its condition in 1826; (*ibid.*, January 31, 1826). The stage line started that year appears to have been soon obliged to discontinue (*ibid.*, August

91. *Con.* of a public meeting in Detroit to consider the project of a canal "from Cranberry Marsh or some other eligible point." The same paper for June 12, 1827, gives a long report of a town meeting held at Dexter, in Washtenaw County, to consider the prospect for a canal from Detroit to Lake Michigan. The attention of Congress was called to that project in 1830 by Hon. John Biddle, according to the *Northwestern Journal* of February 10, 1830. See Governor Mason's message in *Michigan House Journal*, 1837, p. 12, for routes recommended for canals in Michigan; for the Saginaw Canal, *Michigan House Documents* (1837), No. 9, p. 17; for the Clinton and Kalamazoo Canal, *ibid.*, (G), 68.

though of very primitive character, along the entire water front south of Lake Huron.⁹³

The earliest road inland was that built over the Saginaw Trail to connect Detroit with a point favorable for a military post among the Indians near the head of Saginaw Bay. A road over this route was contemplated by Cass as early as 1815;⁹⁴ A stage line seems to have begun regular trips over it from Pontiac to Detroit in 1826.⁹⁵

The most important of the inland routes in this period was the Chicago Road, which grew out of the military need of connecting the forts at Detroit and Chicago. This road in its service to settlement was practically an extension of the Erie Canal and was to become a great axis of settlement in southern Michigan.⁹⁶ The route chosen was marked out by the old trail

93. *Northwestern Journal*, January 6, 1830. Three stages a week appear to have been running between Detroit and Mt. Clemens by 1834. *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser*, March 26.

94. Farmer, *History of Detroit*, I, 925.

95. *Michigan Herald*, April 5, 1826. A number of stage lines were started that year, apparently indicating the impulse to immigration given by the Erie Canal. See the *Detroit Gazette* of that year for February 7, April 4, and May 23.

96. Collin, *History of Branch County*, 25, 42. For the services of Lewis Cass and Father Gabriel Richard in behalf of this improvement, see *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 37; VI, 238; XXI, 440; *Statutes at Large*, IV, 135; editorial comment in the *Detroit Gazette* of May 14, 1824.

92. *Con.* 15, 1826). It had carried passengers from Detroit to Ohio since February apparently at the rate of four cents a mile (*ibid.*, February 7, 1826). Another stage line, carrying passengers at six and a fourth cents a mile, between Detroit and Monroe, seems to have begun immediately on the failure of the old one (*ibid.*, August 22, 1826).

which the Indians had beaten hard in their annual visits from the west to receive British presents at Malden.⁹⁷ The road ran from Detroit in almost a direct line to Ypsilanti, and entering Lenawee and bending there due west, passed through Hillsdale and Branch in a southwesterly direction to St. Joseph County, threaded the southern part of St. Joseph and Cass and left the Territory through the southwestern corner of Berrien.⁹⁸ The stage companies improved the roads enough to get their coaches through but it was not until after the Black Hawk war that serious work was done on it by the Government as far west as Cass County.⁹⁹ Harriet Martineau says of the road between Detroit and Ypsilanti in 1836: "Juggernaut's car would have been 'broke to bits' on such a road"; beyond Jonesville in Hillsdale County it was "more deplorable than ever";¹⁰⁰ occasionally all had to dismount and walk, and then "such hopping and jumping; such slipping and sliding; such looks of despair from the middle of a pond; such shifting of logs, and carrying of planks, and handing along the fallen trunks of trees." A writer in the

97. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VIII, 195; Collin, *History of Branch County*, 35.

98. *Michigan Herald*, June 14, 1825; *Detroit Gazette*, December 13, 1825; Risdon's map of Michigan (1825); Farmer's map of Michigan (1835). For the condition of the road at different times see *Northwestern Journal*, January 6, May 20, 1830; *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser*, March 30, 1831, October 26, 1831; *Detroit Free Press*, November 3, 1831; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 48; II, 389. See also items and advertisements in the *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser* for March 30, May 11, and June 1, 1831. The rate of passenger transportation appears to have been four cents a mile.

99. Glover, *History of Cass County*, 166.

100. *Society in America*, I, 318, 322, 325, 326.

Detroit *Daily Advertiser* of December 24, 1836, says of the Detroit end of the road: "The road from this to Ypsilanti looks at certain times as if it had been the route of a retreating army, so great is the number of wrecks of different kinds which it exhibits."

The Territorial government authorized several roads in this period, the most important of which was the "Territorial Road," a name apparently given to distinguish it from the National turnpike. This was also early known as the St. Joseph's Road, from the Indian trail through the Kalamazoo Valley whose line it followed approximately.¹⁰¹ It was authorized in 1829.¹⁰² Its supposed importance for settlement is indicated in a report made to Governor Cass by the commissioners who laid out its course in 1830: "To show that this must be the most important road in the Territory, it is only necessary to state its course is direct from Detroit to the mouth of the St. Joseph, and the distance thirty miles less than by the Chicago Road—that it passes near the center of the peninsula, through a rich tract of country, and no less than seven county centers, while the Chicago Road takes a more circuitous route near the Indiana line, studiously avoiding county centers."¹⁰³ A stage line appears to have been established in 1834 to connect with steamboats about to begin running from St. Joseph to Chicago; it was proposed to make

101. See Risdon's map (1825).

102. *Territorial Laws*, II, 744.

103. The *Northwestern Journal*, April 21, 1830. See also a description of the advantages along its route, in the same paper for May 5, 1830. These notices undoubtedly helped to attract attention to the settlement of the Kalamazoo Valley.

the entire distance from Detroit to Chicago in five days.¹⁰⁴ The condition of the road at the close of this period apparently was not as good as that of the Chicago Road, and apparently not as much traveled. Harriet Martineau who passed along the Chicago Road in going west from Detroit in June, 1836, intended to take the "upper road" returning, but received news at Chicago that it had been made impassable by the rains; she returned by the Lakes, the rest of the party by the Chicago Road.¹⁰⁵

The agitation in Michigan for railroads began surprisingly early and a number were chartered by the Territorial government, a significant comment on the rate of settlement and the enterprise of the settlers. Stephenson's *Rocket* was still in the experimental stage in England,¹⁰⁶ and only a few miles of railroad had been built in the most enterprising sections of the eastern states. Articles on these railroads began to appear in the Detroit papers in 1830 and charters were from that time sought from the Territorial Government, in some instances doubtless by speculators for the purpose of encouraging the sale of lands along a proposed route or at a proposed terminal. The charter of 1830 to the Pontiac and Detroit Railway Company is the oldest in the Northwest Territory.¹⁰⁷ "We

104. Detroit *Journal and Michigan Advertiser*, June 4, 1834.

105. *Society in America*, II, 2. Mr. Lew Allen Chase has made a judicious selection of material to illustrate the larger features of the roads, travel, and traffic in Michigan during the Territorial period in *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 593. See *Session Laws*, 1835-1836, pp. 90-102, for some sixty roads authorized by the legislature.

106. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 132.

107. Farmer, *History of Detroit*, I, 893; *Mich. Territorial Laws*, III, 844.

advise those capitalists," says the *Detroit Courier* of August 7, 1833, "who have been so grievously disappointed in consequence of not obtaining stock in the Utica and Schenectady Railroad to bring hither their funds and forthwith take preliminary steps to invest the same in a railroad from Detroit to Chicago." An editorial in the same paper for October 30 comments on the rapidly increasing travel between Detroit and Ypsilanti and the bad condition of the wagon road as cogent reasons for a railway between those points.

But before much had been done on that line, enterprising men of Adrian and Port Lawrence (Toledo) began active preparation for rail connections between Lake Erie and the navigable waters of Kalamazoo River. Immigration through Port Lawrence was increasing, and the idea of directing its course through Lenawee County as well as reducing the price of imports and giving an easier outlet for farm products, formed a powerful incentive to action. So bad was the road then existing between these points, it was said, that wagons would often plow to the box in the mud, from which the oxen could scarcely extricate them.¹⁰⁸ The first cars over this first railroad in Michigan were operated in 1836, by horse power; but the effect on the price of commodities was immediate; for example, Syracuse salt fell from fifteen dollars to nine dollars per barrel and other heavy supplies in proportion.¹⁰⁹

In 1834 was surveyed the line of the Detroit and St. Joseph Railroad, approximately along the line of the

108. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 493, 499.

109. *Ibid.*, 492. The financial stress following 1837 hopelessly bankrupted the road, and in 1848 it was leased in perpetuity to the Michigan Southern Railroad Company.

Territorial Road.¹¹⁰ Undoubtedly the success of the Erie and Kalamazoo Railroad from Adrian to Toledo, giving the interior an outlet in that direction and appearing to endanger the commercial interests of Detroit, did much to hasten the work on the St. Joseph Road.¹¹¹ When it was taken over by the State in 1837, nearly one hundred and seventeen thousand dollars had been expended on it; for which there had been done thirteen miles of grading and most of the clearing and grubbing between Detroit and Ypsilanti.¹¹² Contemporary appreciation of the importance of this road is shown by its completion to Ypsilanti in 1836.¹¹³

To be sure, these first roads in Michigan were very primitive—strap-railed and operated by horse power. The first locomotive in 1837 on the Erie and Kalamazoo road between Adrian and Toledo was compara-

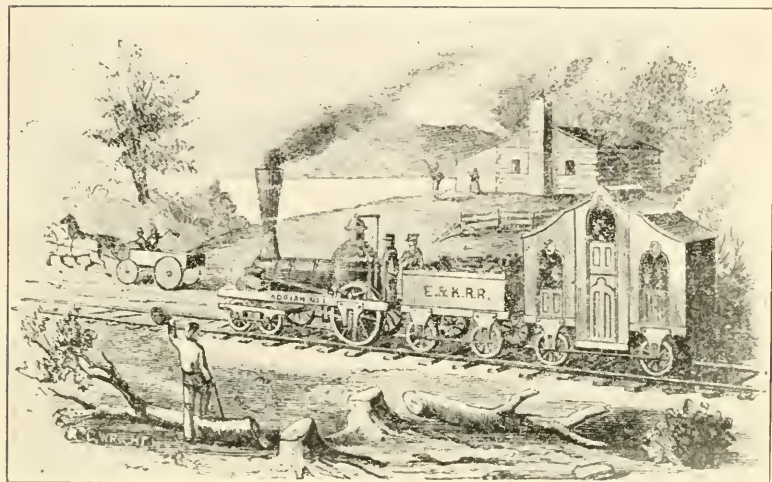
110. *Michigan House Documents*, 1837, No. 9, p. 2; and No. 9 (B), 29, 31. See description of the route in the *Detroit Journal and Courier*, July 8, 1835. This was the beginning of the later Michigan Central Railroad.
111. See editorials in the *Detroit Daily Advertiser* of July 26, August 12, and November 28, 1836.
112. *Michigan House Documents*, 1837, No. 9, p. 9. See for the projected system of internal improvements, *Session Laws*, 1837, pp. 130-133; *House Journal*, 1837, pp. 11-14, 114; *House Documents*, 1837, No. 9, p. 1. For an expression of the popular sentiment see constitutional sanction in *Michigan Legislative Manual*, 1837, p. 45, art. 13, sec. 3.
113. For an account of the festivities celebrating the arrival of the first train at Ypsilanti, see *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXV, 394. A copy of the invitation issued by the commission of internal improvements to Mr. Ball to "take a seat in the cars" on this first trip is contained in *ibid.*, XXXVIII, 101. For the Southern Railroad from Monroe westward on the line of the later Michigan Southern Railroad, see *Michigan House Documents*, 1837, No. 9, pp. 4-7; for the Northern Railroad, see *ibid.*, 13-16.

tively a toy;¹¹⁴ the train on this line appears to have been fairly typical. The first passenger coach, called the "Pleasure Car," was top-heavy and always jumping the track. Passenger trains had an engine and one coach, which carried about twenty persons. The seats were benches along the sides of the coach; the door was on the side; there were no steps, the coaches being low and accessible from the ground. Later on, double-decker coaches were introduced; the upper deck, for women, was furnished with sheepskin-covered seats while the lower deck, for the men, had only wooden seats; these cars could carry sixteen passengers on each deck. The first engines were about twenty horse power, and six cars made a good-sized freight train; the freight cars held only about two tons. The first train crews consisted of a fireman and an engineer; the fuel was wood taken from the forests *en route*; water for the engine was procured from the ditches.¹¹⁵

A word should be said about the government of the Territory as an influence on settlement, though not much can be said of it as an asset in this relation. The opportunity for abuses, practically with immunity, were abundant, the powers of the government being ill-defined and the officials distant from Washington with

114. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 232, 236; Farmer, *History of Detroit*, I, 893.

115. Descriptions adapted from *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 495-496. See *Michigan House Documents*, 1837, No. 9 (A), 14-15, for a description of the process of building one of these primitive roads. A picture of the first train over the road from Detroit to Dearborn is given in *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IV, 516, and of the Erie and Kalamazoo train in *ibid.*, XXXVIII, opposite p. 494.



FIRST RAILROAD TRAIN IN THE WEST

(*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 494)

This train reached Adrian from Port Lawrence (Toledo) Nov. 2, 1836, over the Erie and Kalamazoo Railroad, a strap-railed line which was commenced in 1833 and completed in 1836. See p. 81.

only themselves to report their conduct. Legislative, executive, and judicial powers were vested practically in the same persons, a small junto of four composed of the governor and three judges; rarely were they in agreement; many are the accounts of their frequent and bitter broils. Many were the protests from the people;¹¹⁶ it is said that the citizens of Detroit were so disgusted with this misrule that they refused to vote for councilmen after the first election in 1806. Frequently the people expressed their indignation through grand juries.¹¹⁷ In 1809 by this means they petitioned Congress for a change in the form of government, asking for an elective legislature and a delegate to Congress; but that body busily engaged with the foreign affairs preceding the War of 1812, gave little heed; not until the close of that conflict was a larger share in local government secured.¹¹⁸

The movement for a change in the form of the Territorial government was strongly advocated in the *Detroit Gazette* with the purpose of "encouraging immigration, inducing settlement and developing the resources of the Territory." The increased expense would be an investment sure of rich returns, argued "Cincinnatus" in that paper for November 21, 1817, advocating change to a form "more congenial to the principles and feeling of the American people." "The government of this Territory, in its formation, is despotic—as it exists at present, it is anarchy," declared

116. Ross and Catlin, *Landmarks of Detroit*, 283.

117. *Ibid.*, 288, 290-291.

118. *Ibid.*, 289.

another.¹¹⁹ Governor Cass, thoroughly democratic, desired complete popular rule to be consummated for the Territory as rapidly as the will of the people should permit;¹²⁰ but the French, suffering from the ravages of war, hated nothing so much as taxes and had not the feeling for popular government characteristic of the "Yankee" immigrants. It was apparently the strength of their vote in 1818 that defeated the attempt to effect a change to the second grade of Territorial government.¹²¹

The Territory first elected a delegate to Congress in 1819, when it was provided that all white males who had resided in Michigan one year prior to the date of election and who paid a Territorial or county tax might vote at the election.¹²² The second important change was in 1823 when the Legislative Council was established, in the election of whose members the people were given a partial voice.¹²³ The complaints against the Territorial officials published in the *Detroit Gazette* preceding this change make an almost continuous series

119. October 28. See also the *Detroit Gazette* of 1817 for October 10, November 28, December 5, 12, 26, and January 2, 1818, for a series of articles on the misrule of the Governor and Judges, signed "Rousseau." A writer in the issue of December 19, 1817, regrets the influence such writings must have on immigration. In the issue for January 13, 1818, a strong editorial sets forth the advantages of the second grade of Territorial government.

120. *Journal of the Legislative Council*, 1824, p. 8; *ibid.*, 1826, pp. 5-6.

121. *Detroit Gazette*, October 2, 1818; Campbell, *Political History of Michigan*, 391; Smith, *Life and Times of Lewis Cass*, 113.

122. *Statutes at Large*, III, 482; *Detroit Gazette*, May 28, 1819.

123. *Statutes at Large*, III, 769.

of articles and editorials.¹²⁴ In fact, they are continuous from its founding in 1817. These writings quoted in the eastern papers were detrimental, to the immigration at least of those who were particular about living under good government. The New York *Commercial Advertiser*, quoted in the *Detroit Gazette* of December 27, 1822, declares that "Michigan is the worst governed State or Territory in the Union if half is true that has been published in the last three or four years and never contradicted."¹²⁵ In 1827 Congress provided for the complete popular election of the Legislative Council, subject to a check by the governor's veto and to congressional approval.¹²⁶ The Territorial government thus inaugurated continued until the election of State officers in 1836.

The agitation for a change to State government began actively about 1831. An editorial in the *Detroit Gazette* for October 8, 1824, had prophesied that in view of the present progress of settlement, Michigan

124. The editorials first became trenchant in 1820. See a criticism of the editorial silence on abuses, in the *Gazette* for August 11, 1820, followed August 25 by an editorial demand that an account be made by the treasurer of the Territory, of the expenditure of public money during the last five years.

125. Judge Woodward was the center of the attack on the Judges; see the severe and specific arraignment in the *Gazette* for November 1 and 8, 1822; he published his defense in eastern papers, which led the *Gazette* to say that he appeared more desirous of being thought clean at Washington than in Michigan.

126. *Statutes at Large*, 4, 200. The *Detroit Gazette* of June 18, 1824, contains very favorable comment on the recent work of the Legislative Council, publishing from this time forth the proceedings and laws of the Council and the speeches of the Governor.

would be eligible for statehood in 1826. But progress was not quite so rapid. The *Detroit Free Press* of September 8, 1831, forecast a sufficient population "in a year or so"; in 1832 a vote taken on the issue though favorable was small, and Congress declined to consider it.¹²⁷ As in 1818 and 1823 the French-Canadians' fear of increase in taxes again furnished the strength of the negative vote.¹²⁸ The small size of the favorable majority indicated probably less a lack of interest on the part of eastern settlers than the distraction of attention from it by the cholera epidemic and the rumors of Indian uprisings. Regarding the franchise it is worthy of note that for this occasion it was extended beyond the qualified electors to all males of age excepting Indians and Negroes.¹²⁹

Increasing numbers in 1833-34 again revived the agitation for statehood and symptoms appeared of the attitude Michigan was to take in the later conflict over admission. "Even if congress omits to act in the case," says the editor of the *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser*, October 29, 1834, "and appear to decline admitting her into the Union as a boon, we shall probably soon have proof that she may demand it as a right."¹³⁰ A census taken in 1834 revealed a popula-

127. *Detroit Free Press*, October 18, 1832; *Detroit Courier*, March 13, 1833; Ross and Catlin, *Landmarks of Detroit*, 376.

128. *Detroit Free Press*, October 11, 1832; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXII, 484; XXVIII, 171.

129. Campbell, *Political History of Michigan*, 435.

130. See other editorial discussions in the same paper for November 5, 12, 19, 26, December 4., etc., 1834, and frequently from then forward.

tion of 87,278.¹³¹ In 1835 a State constitution was adopted, a complete State government was elected, and Michigan claimed under the Ordinance of 1787 to be a State, awaiting only congressional action on its right to admission into the Union. The popular sentiment in favor of State government is reflected in the vote of six to one for the adoption of the new constitution in 1835, and as settlement increased in 1835-36 mainly from New York and New England the sentiment for statehood brought from the older states grew stronger in Michigan. For over a year, however, Michigan continued to be technically a Territory, at least not a State in the Union, though its people lived under the new constitution.¹³² The constitution adopted may fairly be taken to express the general feeling of the people regarding popular rights. Among other things it required that a voter must be a white male above twenty-one years of age, a citizen or resident in Michigan at the time of the adoption of the constitution and a resident of the State six months preceding the election.¹³³ The franchise was extended

131. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 150.

132. There is a good brief analysis of the constitution of 1835 in Cooley's *Michigan*, 299-303; also in *Michigan as Province, Territory and State*, III, 43-53. The issue of the admission of Michigan afforded an instructive expression of state rights in the West, taking some time to settle because of being compromised with the slavery question, the admission of Arkansas, and the boundary controversy with Ohio.

A good brief digest of the legislation of 1835-37 bearing upon the settlement and development of Michigan, is contained in *ibid.*, III, 69, 77-89. See also the two volumes of *Session Laws*, 1835-1836, and 1837.

133. *Michigan Legislative Manual*, 1837, p. 30.

to all aliens then in Michigan, but a residence of five years was required of newcomers.¹³⁴ Alpheus White, a native of Ireland, appears to have been largely instrumental in getting an extension of the suffrage to aliens then residing in the Territory.¹³⁵

Settlers coming from the East to Michigan must have recognized in the laws of the Territory much with which they were familiar, since by reason of the origin the laws they reflected as a whole the spirit of the East.¹³⁶ A writer who has made a special study of this feature finds that they were derived in about equal proportions from Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, and Virginia.¹³⁷ Punishment at the whipping post was derived from the laws of Vermont;¹³⁸ as late as 1832 a public whipping of fifteen lashes on the bare back appears to have been administered in the public square of Monroe village.¹³⁹ At the close of the period a

134. Michigan Political Association, *Publications*, I, 130; a number of newspaper articles appeared in 1836 bearing on the right of foreign immigrants to vote. See the *Detroit Journal and Courier*, July 1, 1835.

135. *Michigan Biographies* (Lansing, 1888), 685.

136. In some cases the intent of Congress to restrict the legislation of the Governor and Judges to such as could be found on the statute books of the states, was frustrated by an ingenious patchwork method of piecing together sentences and phrases from those laws; this was one of the abuses complained of.

137. E. W. Bemis, *Local Government in Michigan and the Northwest* (John Hopkins University studies, 1st ser., 5—Baltimore, 1883), 10. At the close of most of the Territorial laws is a statement of the source from which they are derived, usually naming merely the State.

138. Mathews, *Expansion of New England*, 223.

139. Wing, *History of Monroe County*, 140; punishment by whipping was abolished in the Territory by statute in 1831. *Territorial laws*, III, 904.

movement for the abolition of imprisonment for debt had gained headway, of which the publication of Whittier's poem "The Prisoner for Debt" in a Detroit paper is a reflection; in 1837 this relic was abolished by law.¹⁴⁰

Of first rate importance to settlement were the provisions for county, township, and village government. The establishment of counties ran far ahead of settlement, it being the intention apparently to invite settlement and to avoid the difficulties that would attend the running of county lines after settlers should have located farms.¹⁴¹ In a rough way the rate of county organization may be taken to indicate the rate of settlement.¹⁴² Popular participation in county government was granted by Congress in 1825 when the qualified electors were authorized to choose all county officers except judges.¹⁴³

140. *Session Laws*, 1837, p. 299. However, Chief Justice Fletcher, in the work known from its compiler as "Fletcher's Code," embodied the old law, and the new one was re-enacted in 1839. *Session Laws*, 1839, p. 76.

141. *Territorial Laws*, II, 798-800; *Detroit Gazette*, editorial of September 13, 1822.

142. A very good brief study of the expansion of Michigan based on county organization has been made by Mr. Mark W. Jefferson in *Report of the Michigan Academy of Science*, 1902, pp. 88-91. See plates in Farmer's *History of Detroit*, I, 119, 120. Another and more extended study of this subject has been made by Mr. William Henry Hathaway, in *The Evolution of the Counties of Michigan*, soon to be published by the Michigan Historical Commission. For the establishment of the first counties, and their unequal areas, see W. L. Jenks, in *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 447; also *Territorial Laws*, I, 121, 122, 323, 325, 327, 328; II, 295.

143. *Statutes at Large*, IV, 80; for legislation affecting the establishment of county seats, see *Territorial Laws*, III, 840; *Session Laws*, 1835-36, p. 81; *ibid.*, 1837, pp. 268, 287.

The democratic character of local government was no small inducement to settlers, especially to the freedom-loving foreigner who came hither to enjoy what he could not obtain in the Fatherland. In 1825 Congress gave to the Governor and Council of the Territory the power to divide the counties into townships,¹⁴⁴ and in the year 1827 this power was extensively used.¹⁴⁵ Township government sometimes preceded county government by a number of years, as in Grand Blanc Township in Genesee County,¹⁴⁶ and Allegan Township in Allegan County.¹⁴⁷ The Michigan town meeting combined with the powers of the New England town meeting the organization of the New York county board.¹⁴⁸

The successive variations in the areas of the political townships has naturally much significance as an indi-

144. Lanman, *Michigan*, 228.

145. *Territorial Laws*, II, 477. See comments of the *Detroit Gazette* of March 6, 1827, on the proceedings of the Legislative Council regarding township government. Their opinion of the importance of the subject is attested by the time given to it, greater than to any other measure since the organization of the Council. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 434.

146. *Ibid.*, III, 434.

147. *Ibid.*, XVII, 558.

148. Mathews, *Expansion of New England*, 236, quoting E. W. Bemis, *Local Government in Michigan and the Northwest*, 14-17; cf. *Territorial Laws*, II, 317, 640. See the discussion in the *Detroit Gazette*, February 27, 1827, for contemporary opinion as to the respective merits of the New England and New York plans of township government. The *Michigan Herald* of January 17, 1827, states that a majority of citizens prefer the New York system of township government because cheaper and more convenient; the same paper for February 28, 1827, contains an article against the New York plan.

cation of settlement. The earliest of these townships were sometimes of great extent. Some of them included several counties, as the township of Greene, humorously famous among pioneers for its size.¹⁴⁹ Frequently the first political township in a county was coterminous with the county, and this large township would be later subdivided along the lines of the government townships into political townships of varying areas.¹⁵⁰

In the educational and cultural advantages offered by Michigan Territory there was not much to invite

149. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, X, 63; *Territorial Laws*, II, 787. For the very large townships in northern counties see *ibid.*, II, 480-481.

150. As a small political area organized on petition of the people for township government, the township indexes population on a smaller scale than does the county; hence it is supplementary as a measure of settlement within the counties. The name, date, position, size, and boundaries of a township may tell much. The date and position of the first townships organized in a county are quite certain evidence of how the population was distributed; and the rate of township organization is fairly dependable as a means of contrasting the larger features of settlement within the counties. The names and boundaries of townships may often give a clue to the motive of settlement, and to the sources of the population; but caution must be used in basing judgments upon the relative areas of townships; relative size, area for area, is likely to be very misleading, and should be compared with other evidence. Small townships naturally give the impression of density of population; and the large ones, of sparseness; but a township diagram of any county for any census will invariably give evidence that this relativity of area is not of itself a safe guide to relative density of population. Townships have varied in size for sundry reasons—physiographic, ethnic, economic, social; various other conditions have influenced feeling about who should be included in the townships.

settlers.¹⁵¹ The importance of this element as an inducement to settlers, however, should be duly appreciated. Many of the leading pioneers had been educated in eastern schools and colleges; and the universal respect for education is shown by the social status of the teacher, which was equal to that of the minister or physician. The influence of the devoted pioneer priests and preachers, like Father Gabriel Richard, John Monteith, and John D. Pierce, in elevating the general tone of social life must have been considerable.¹⁵² It was probably a general sentiment among intending emigrants that was reflected in an editorial of the *Northwestern Journal* of January 13, 1830, commenting on the "multiplication of schools, of places of worship, of religious teachers, and the improvement of the moral habits of the people:" that "there are very many by whom a satisfactory answer to the questions 'can we educate our children there, and enjoy ourselves and secure to them the blessings of Sabbath instruction,' would be demanded before they would determine to emigrate."

Though the foundations of Michigan's public school system, at least in practice, were laid after Michigan became a State, something was done by legislation in the earlier period. National land grants for schools provided a part of the financial basis both for primary and higher education.¹⁵³ Governor Cass had the thorough-going New England sense of the importance

151. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VII, 36-51.

152. J. D. Hoyt and R. C. Ford, *John D. Pierce, Founder of the Michigan School System* (Ypsilanti, 1905), 40-41, 44-46.

153. A. C. McLaughlin, *History of Higher Education in Michigan*, 17, 18; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VII, 19.

of educating the masses as a basis for citizenship and did his utmost to promote schools.¹⁵⁴ It is probable that his inspiration was back of the apparent awakening of interest in public education reflected in the legislation of 1827 providing for common schools in the townships.¹⁵⁵

However, the log schoolhouses built by the settlers, meagerly equipped, and probably frequently officered by schoolmasters of the type of Ichabod Crane, remained throughout this period the sole public educational advantage within reach of the vast majority of children.¹⁵⁶ Academies appeared at Pontiac, Ann Arbor, and a few other centers of settlement.¹⁵⁷ The Ann Arbor Academy had a considerable reputation, drawing pupils from prominent families in Detroit.¹⁵⁸ Some slight beginnings that looked towards a university made

154. McLaughlin, *Lewis Cass*, 123, citing *Journal of the Legislative Council*, 1826, pp. 5-6.

155. *Territorial Laws*, II, 472; see also *ibid.*, III, 1012, 1377. A brief review of Territorial school legislation in Michigan is given in *Michigan Joint Documents*, 1880, pp. 307-309; and of the organization of the Territorial school system in Hoyt and Ford, *John D. Pierce*, 47-52.

156. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 429. See the sketch of a typical pioneer school of about this time at Ypsilanti, probably of the better type, "Annual report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1880," in *Michigan Joint Documents*, 1880, pp. 306-307. The visitation was made in 1839 by the editor of an eastern school paper, *The Common School Assistant*, in whose columns for September of that year appeared his report—good teachers, but poor ventilation, bad desks and seats, windows poor, ceilings low, and the settlers unwilling to have any change made.

157. *Territorial Laws*, III, 849, 879, 881, 975, 992, 1069, 1120, 1205, 1379.

158. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 400.

their appearance.¹⁵⁹ Toward the end of the period there were formulated those plans of Isaac E. Crary and John D. Pierce which appearing first in spirit in the State constitution of 1835 were brought to practical realization by the earliest State legislation¹⁶⁰ and were to mean much for later settlement.

159. *Territorial Laws*, I, 879; II, 104; McLaughlin, *Higher Education in Michigan*, 29-31; Mich. Hist. Colls., VII, 37; B. A. Hinsdale and I. N. Demmon, *History of the University of Michigan*, passim; *Michigan Joint Documents*, 1880, pp. 353-355, 358, 360-363.

160. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 38; V, 184-187; McLaughlin, *Higher Education in Michigan*, 34-35; *Michigan Legislative Manual*, 1837, pp. 43, 44, art. 10, sec. 2, 3. Hoyt and Ford, *John D. Pierce*, 79-87; *Michigan Joint Documents*, 1880, pp. 309-313.

CHAPTER III

THE EASTERN SHORE

THE lands now in Monroe, Wayne, Macomb and St. Clair counties were the earliest portion of the southern peninsula to receive Canadian-French settlers, and they contained always a larger proportion of that element of population than did any other part of Michigan Territory. They were also the first counties to receive American settlers, for they had a common shore line facing Canada and the eastern states. A continuous network of streams afforded drainage, a degree of navigation, and well distributed water power. In view of the initial advantages which these counties shared they had a slower rate of settlement than might have been expected. This was due partly to peculiarities of soil, timber and position.

The surface soil [in much of Monroe and Wayne counties was a stiff clay which, as a recent map of the surface geology indicates, was probably the bottom of an ancient lake.¹ At the time of the first settlement this soil was covered densely with forests of ash and elm. The difficulty of clearing it was a serious discouragement to farmers and this accounts partly for the slowness with which these lands received actual settlers as compared

1. Soil map in pocket of the Mich. Geological Survey *Report*, 1907.

with the more open counties farther inland. In Macomb and St. Clair counties settlers met, besides the heavy clay lands, the lighter soils on the rolling clay drift. These had lighter forests, mainly of maple and oak with the characteristic "openings" and offered much less difficulty to the beginnings of agriculture. On the sandy land in St. Clair County there was much pine, inviting to settlers interested in lumbering; apparently many Maine lumbermen came early to this region.² But the position of the northern counties of the section was somewhat aside from the general current of immigration from the eastern states. In many portions the forest was heavy and the abundance of pine was held to indicate inferior soil.

The lands of this section had a common watershed which drained their waters to the eastern shore in a current strong enough to give abundant water power. The numerous branches of the streams forming a network of irrigation and water for stock insured also a minimum waste of land. Enumerating northward, the inland streams that meant most to the American settlement of this section were the Raisin, the Huron, the Rouge, the Clinton, the Belle, the Pine and the Black.³ The French-Canadians, who were the first to come, settled also on the smaller streams and on the intervening dry land between the mouths along the shore. They cared less for water power than for conditions favoring compactness and ease of com-

2. For example, a party of four are said to have purchased, in 1835, 25,000 acres of pine land. *Hist. of St. Clair County* (1883), 305.

3. The Detroit and St. Clair rivers were regarded as straits.

munication. Any stream that could float a canoe and could afford enough water for the household and a few heads of stock was considered by them satisfactory for a settlement. At the time Michigan became a Territory, French-Canadians were to be found along such inconsiderable streams as Otter Creek, Sandy Creek, Stony Creek and the Ecorse. The land about the mouths of almost all the eastern streams was low and marshy, but a little distance back from the shore there were usually large patches of fertile open meadow land which afforded ample homes for these settlers.⁴

Almost every stream of this section that emptied into the shore waters had French farmers upon its banks; no French settlement was away from either shore or stream. Jouett, Indian Agent at Detroit, assigns as one motive for this the scarcity of springs in these heavy clay lands.⁵ An early writer adds as motives the good canoeing and fishing.⁶ The

4. It is almost needless to say that the local conditions of topography, soil and navigation along these streams have been so changed by artificial drainage, deforestation, drying of streams, harbor improvements and cultivation of the land, that conclusions cannot be safely based alone upon present-day observations. One can best study the French settlements in the light of contemporary descriptions, like that given by Indian Agent Jouett, written for the information of Congress at about the beginning of Michigan's history as a Territory. His careful visitation of the settlements extended almost the entire length of the shore, from the Ohio boundary to Lake Huron. He informs the Secretary of War that he has "avoided neither trouble nor fatigue" to make the record accurate, "by minute investigation." The report is printed in *Amer. State Papers., Public Lands*, I, 190-193, and in the same series, *Indian Affairs*, I, 758-760.

5. *A. S. P., Public Lands*, I, 191.

6. *Detroit Gazette*, Oct. 30, 1818.

mouths of the streams, separated by intervals of shore line, were from three to ten miles or more apart and in longer intervals there were settlements along the shore. An example is seen in the interval between the Rouge and the Clinton which included Detroit.⁷ The river settlements were always on the lower courses of the streams and as near to the shore waters as the marshy lands about their mouths would permit.⁸

The desire of the French to be near the shore apparently led them in some instances to submit to very unhealthful environments. In the *Western Gazetteer* (1817) Brown mentions a settlement on Swan Creek, "the worst looking stream tributary to Lake Erie," where the water, choked with aquatic plants, was so putrid that it would "rope in summer like molasses;" yet, says the author, "the inhabitants make free use of it for cooking and drinking" and "their children near the shore look miserably."⁹ The French seem to have preferred this despite the fact that the water four miles from the mouth was brisk enough to run "water machinery." Jouett reports that at the Rouge, whose sluggish current made its mouth like a pool,

7. Originally there were small streams running through the settlement at Detroit. See plate in Farmer's *History of Detroit*, I, 9. The course of the River Savoyard became the line of the first underground sewer of the city.

8. On Otter Creek the settlements extended, according to Jouett, to the shore of Lake Erie. In the *Western Gazetteer* (p. 160) Brown reports settlements on the Raisin within two miles of its mouth.

9. Brown, *Western Gazetteer*, 160. This seems to be the creek called by the French "La Rivière aux Cignes." The settlement is not mentioned by Jouett.

"fevers of malignant nature confine whole families for weeks together."¹⁰ Along the shore south of the Clinton were obstacles to good health "which neither the industry nor the perseverance of the agriculturist would be able to surmount," a place "less calculated for a settlement than any other I have ever seen in this country;" yet it was occupied by a fairly large colony.¹¹

It appears that the distance to which the French settlements extended inland bore some relation to canoe navigation. The largest groups of farms were on the largest streams. A group was rarely longer than ten miles. There was one of that length on the St. Clair above the mouth of Belle River, one a little longer on the Raisin and one of nine miles on the Clinton.¹² A line of settlement north and south of Detroit forming the center of the frontier extended from near the Rouge to some distance above Grosse Pointe. On the smaller streams the size of the settlements was quite disproportionate to the size of the streams. For instance, on the Rouge an almost continuous line of farms reached inland for eight miles, only a mile shorter than the group along the Clinton; this is the distance reported by Jouett to which this stream was navigable for "small boats." On the little streams Otter and Sandy creeks, settlement extended inland for three miles. Rocky River, which according to Jouett was not navigable for "even the smallest boats," but which had pure water

10. A. S. P., *Public Lands*, I, 191.

11. *Ibid.*, I, 192.

12. *Ibid.*, I, 190, 192, 193.

and excellent soil, is reported to have had no French farmers.¹³

The one exception to settlement on an available stream of good size was furnished by Huron River. The soil was good — "None is superior to the lands on this river," says Jouett—and they were apparently known to the French to be fertile. In 1794 something like speculation took place when the trader Gabriel Godfroy bought from the Indians four thousand acres on the lower Huron. Apparently he made no effort to people the land; in 1803 Jouett found one tenant there living near the mouth of the river as a ferryman. Fertility of soil seems not to have been an inducement to French settlers if other things were lacking. The want appears to have been in this case a suitable relation to the large settlements at Detroit and on the Raisin. The obscure Ecorse, ten miles nearer to Detroit seems to have been preferred; the lower Huron lay directly on the usual trail over which the Indians passed in reaching the British in Canada; Detroit offered the protection of the fort. Moreover, a position on the trail would favor Godfroy's trading interests with the Indians, which would not be improved by the presence of French settlers. It does not seem certain that he had a post on his land on the lower Huron

13. *Ibid.*, I, 190. Land was purchased early there (to the amount of 600 French acres, 1786-1788) by two French Canadians, apparently for speculation. A portion of it was later acquired by the Detroit firm of Meldrum & Park. Improvements were made, including a distillery and a flouring mill, said to have been worth \$10,000, but the French seem not to have been attracted. In 1803 Jouett reports but two families as being then on the river, engaged in managing the distillery and mill. *Ibid.*, I, 190.

but he appears to be the same with the Gabriel Godfroy who was given title by the Government (1811) to land on this trail at the site of Ypsilanti, and who had a post there as early as 1809.¹⁴

The amounts of population at the several points had apparently little relation to the relative extensions of settlement inland. The most populous settlement along the shore of the Detroit River above and below the village extended inland only the length of the farms. The Raisin River settlement, whose families numbered upward of one hundred and twenty, made a group almost four times as large as that on the Clinton.¹⁵ The settlement on the Rouge, a mile shorter than that on the Clinton, exceeded the latter in number of farms by about a dozen.¹⁶

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14. *History of Washtenaw County* (1881), 1092-1093; *Ann Arbor Folio*, p. 1. See also the Greeley survey of French claims (1810). Jouett's report apparently aims to present the advantages of the lower Huron to eastern settlers. He speaks of "the deep and gentle current" of the river, navigable for boats twenty miles; of the "extensive prairies" and "beautiful sceneries,"—and even of the hazel brush, as affording "a pleasant shade to the delighted traveler." To a title, he says, Godfroy could have "no pretensions," the deed being signed by only one Indian chief, without a witness.

Another early purchase made by Godfroy (3000 French acres) was on the Rocky River. Francis Pepin, the second of the trio who established the post at the site of Ypsilanti, bought the same amount at about the same time (1786-1788) on the opposite bank.

15. *A. S. P., Public Lands*, I, 190, 192. This is approximately the relative proportion of claims shown in the Greeley survey of 1810. Jouett's usage in the employment of "occupants" and "inhabitants" is loose. He seems sometimes to mean heads of families. Occasionally he uses "farms" and "families."
16. *Ibid.*, I, 191.

The desire of the French to be as near Detroit as possible and still be near the shore is illustrated by the almost unbroken continuity of the shore settlements about Detroit with those on neighboring streams. The influence of Detroit is apparent in the grouping of so large a colony on the Rouge,¹⁷ which really was an expansion up that stream of the shore settlements south of Detroit. Jouett reports a gap some two miles in extent between these groups, due to the marshy shore immediately north of the mouth of the Rouge; but the Greeley map (1810) shows no break in the continuity of the French claims. The group included by Greeley under "Detroit Settlement" begins with a claim fronting entirely on the Rouge.¹⁸ Associated closely on his map with the Rouge claims are those on the Ecorse. The claims which face the southern bank of the Rouge extend across one branch of the Ecorse; the Rouge claims nearest the shore abut on the northernmost Ecorse claim. A similar continuity is observed north of Detroit. Jouett records upward of a hundred farms grouped along the shore north of Detroit, and on the Greeley map the only break in their continuity with those on the Clinton is for a distance of about four miles above Grosse Pointe. On Greeley's map a marsh is shown there, apparently indicating a part of the unhealthy shore region mentioned by Jouett.

This break in the line of shore settlements, however, marks properly the northern limits of the Detroit group. The environment of the Clinton River and

17. The Greeley map shows seventy-five claims on the Rouge.

18. Claim No. 718.

of the shore of Lake St. Clair, as well as the character of the settlements, gives a distinct individuality to the group beyond. The characteristic of this group was the comparative sparseness of settlement. Jouett states that he met but two settlers in the whole distance from the Clinton to the St. Clair River, and the number of families on the Clinton are reported as less than on the Rouge.¹⁹ The Clinton River, in general, appears to have offered excellent advantages for farming, but the lower course was marshy for some miles and the American shore of Lake St. Clair seems to have been regarded by the French as a succession of marshes and sand.²⁰

A third area of settlement was along the St. Clair River. This had two groups of fair size, one of twelve farms fronting on the last six miles of the river's course, and a second of twenty-four farms near its junction with the Pine.²¹

South of Detroit beyond the Ecorse the shore lands, though offering prime advantage for farming, were practically destitute of settlements for a distance of some twenty miles, to the Raisin River.²² Some three miles from the Raisin on either side of its mouth were

19. On the Clinton there were, according to Jouett, thirty-four families, a number corresponding approximately with the number of claims shown on the Greeley map.

20. On the Greeley map, the shore of Anchor Bay contains a Chippewa Reservation of 5760 acres,—apparent evidence that the land was not poor there, as the Indians rarely chose poor soil for their villages. The same map shows five large French claims just above the Clinton at the mouths of small streams.

21. *A. S. P., Public Lands*, I, 192, 193.

22. The Greeley map shows six claims at Brownstown Creek; four of them were apparently not French, bearing the names of Adam Brown and William Walker.

settlements on Sandy and Otter creeks which numbered together not over forty farms, overshadowed by the larger group on the Raisin. The Raisin River group was by far the largest inland group of French farms in the Territory, numbering upward of one hundred and twenty.²³

These four areas of French settlement, on the Raisin, the Detroit, the Clinton and the St. Clair rivers, foreshadowed the division of this shore line among the present counties of Monroe, Wayne, Macomb and St. Clair.

The French-Canadian farms in Michigan differed from the usual "Yankee" farms in shape and size. With few exceptions they formed regular parallelograms; and in area there appear to have been mainly four classes, respectively of 80, 120, 160 and 200 French acres²⁴—according to the extent of water frontage.

23. In a communication made in January, 1806, a newly appointed associate judge of Michigan Territory (A. B. Woodward) reported to the Government the whole number of French farms in the Territory to be 442. *A. S. P., Public Lands*, I, 266. His figures, which agree substantially with those of Jouett, were probably not made from personal investigation of the settlements, since he had been less than a year in the Territory and apparently most of that time in Detroit. Probably he had access to Jouett's information, as the latter was then the Indian Agent at Detroit. Woodward's materials, arranged differently from those in Jouett's report, form a chronological table showing the date of every addition of settlers to each site, the number of farms at each, and whether within the American title. The number of farms indicated by Jouett and Woodward is approximately the same as the number of claims in the survey of 1810 shown on the Greeley map.

24. The French acre was a square, with a side of about eleven and two-thirds rods, equal to about four-fifths of an American acre.

In frontage they varied from about 23 to 58 rods; but almost uniformly they reached forty French acres²⁵ back from the water. There were some farms of 400 acres, but this large area appears to have resulted from duplication of the 200 acre farm by adding an equal parallelogram onto the rear of the one in front.²⁶ This added part is what is referred to after the survey as "the second concession," usually a wooded area useful for timber and firewood; as will be seen later it explains the jagged rear boundary lines observable on the maps of the French claims. On the Raisin and Clinton rivers these irregularities were partly due to bogs extending along the rivers on either side and forming a natural rear boundary for the farms.²⁷ Of the French farms, most however fall into the second class, of 120 French acres (96 American acres), with a frontage of about 23 rods and a depth of about 467 rods.

Another characteristic of the French settlement was its compactness. These farms all fronting on the water were with few exceptions close together, so that the side boundary of one farm made one boundary of a neighboring farm. This is the feature which gives to the maps of the French claims their well-known "gridiron" appearance. In this arrangement a domi-

25. About 467 rods. The early accounts appear to make the acre a linear measure. Thus a farm is designated as "two acres front and forty acres deep." In Jouett's report, a few illustrations are given of variations between 25 and 180 acres in depth.

26. On the Raisin, the Ecorse and the Rouge, farms of this size were reported by Jouett. See Woodward's explanation of this area in the report referred to in note 23.

27. A. S. P., *Public Lands*, I, 190, 192. The Greeley map shows the farms on the Clinton farthest inland as having a very large frontage but as extending only a little way from the river.

nant trait in the character of the French-Canadians appears, a fondness for close neighbors. Besides facilitating sociability, it enabled them to unite quickly against enemies. On the rivers it enabled the settlers up stream to get closer to the lake shore.

The small size of the average Canadian-French farm corresponded with the general character of Canadian-French farming. Its small scale fostered little desire to acquire land; the whole of a French farm, small as it was, was rarely cultivated,²⁸ and this was especially true of the larger ones. The improvements were correspondingly meager. On the typical farm there was a small dwelling on the river bank, a garden near it, with usually an orchard, and back of this a field of wheat or corn. In the rear, covering the larger part of the land, was a stretch of forest, principally for firewood.

The part of the farm to which the French settler seems to have given the most care was the orchard. Referring to the farms south of Detroit, Jouett says their owners were "assiduously careful" of their orchards and produced a surplus of fruit and cider for exportation to the settlements on the Canada shore. Pears and apples of first quality were raised in great abundance, and peaches and cherries were only second in importance.²⁹ "Almost every farm has an orchard

28. *A. S. P., Public Lands*, I, 264.

29. "The crowning glory of the French orchard was the pear tree," says Bela Hubbard, *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 356. Brown speaks of cider and peach brandy made on the Raisin for exportation. *Western Gazetteer*, 161. Evans remarks (1818) that Michigan promised to be "a great cider country." Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, VIII, 221.

of old but beautiful apple trees," says the *Gazette* of July 30, 1819, "the produce of which furnishes, generally, the greatest share of the owner's gains;" yet it speaks of the orchards as "almost totally neglected."³⁰ McKenney in his *Tour to the Lakes* (1826), speaking of the French between Detroit and Grosse Pointe, records that they "appear reconciled to let the earth rest and the houses go to decay around them; and the orchards to decline and die."³¹

Granting that the French took some care of their orchards, their farming must have appeared to the enterprising Yankee in other respects exceedingly shiftless. A typical illustration is the lack of care of the soil. Jouett reports that he found in many places an exhausted soil where apparently it had once been fertile. It appears to have been a general custom in the settlement to haul the manure out onto the ice in the winter so that it might float away in the spring.³² To quote a contemporary number of the *Gazette*, "The farms in this Territory are very old, and as the proprietors of them seldom or never have strengthened the soil by manure, they are in a great measure exhausted."³³ Bela Hubbard declares that "in some cases even the barns were removed to avoid the piles that had accumulated."³⁴ Soap-making was a

30. See, for other examples, the issues of Sept. 19 and Nov. 7, 1817; also Nov. 5, 1819.

31. McKenney, *Tour to the Lakes*, 126.

32. Amer. Hist. Assoc., *Papers*, III, 314.

33. July 30, 1819.

34. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 352. *Landmarks of Detroit* (p. 145) takes exception to Hubbard's statement, but without convincing evidence to the contrary.

"Yankee novelty."³⁵ These reports are in keeping with the alleged ignorance of spinning and weaving which led settlers to throw away the wool when shearing their sheep.³⁶

The average French farmer used much the same implements and worked the soil in much the same manner as did the Indians.³⁷ A crude wooden plow was pushed, instead of pulled, by oxen attached to it with a rawhide thong passed about their horns. Corn was planted with no regard to regularity of rows. Wagons were not known; the universal vehicle was a two-wheeled cart. Stock was confined, usually, to one pony which was turned into the neighboring woods for such living as it could find, and was caught when wanted.³⁸

The common note struck in Jouett's report for almost all of the settlements is that of indolence and wretchedness. Conditions appear not to have improved greatly over those witnessed at Detroit by Croghan in 1765, who says, "All the people here are generally poor wretches, a lazy, idle people, depending chiefly upon

35. Amer. Hist. Assoc., *Papers*, III, 314.

36. This, if true, was probably so only of the lowest classes. Says a writer in the *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IV, 74: "The spinning wheel was constantly used by the women; they made a sort of linsey-woolsey which was the principal cloth used by the *habitans* for their dress." Hubbard says (*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 364), that knitting, sewing and spinning were taught along with reading, writing and arithmetic at the Academy in Detroit.

37. Hubbard, in *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 353, 354.

38. See the description of the French farms and farming in *Mich. Pol. Science Assoc., Publications*, III, 168-169; also James V. Campbell in the *Western Magazine of History*, IV, 375, and Cooley's *Michigan*, 232-237.

the savages for their subsistence; though the land, with little labor, produces plenty of grain, they scarcely raise as much as will supply their wants, in imitation of the Indians, whose manners and customs they have adopted, and cannot subsist without them.”³⁹ The *Gazette* of January 22, 1819, comments editorially that the farmers near Detroit, with two hundred acres of land, buy bread of the baker and vegetables of their more enterprising neighbors. A report from the Detroit Land Office (1805) charges that “they never do that today which can be delayed until tomorrow.”⁴⁰ Alluding to the settlement on the Clinton, Jouett refers the poverty there to “that indolence and want of skill in agriculture which so conspicuously marks the Canadian character⁴¹ in this country.” Of the one on the Ecorse he says that though “grass and wheat are astonishingly luxuriant and nature requires to be but little aided to produce in abundance all the necessities of life, yet the people are poor beyond conception, and no description could give an adequate idea of their servile and degraded situation.”⁴² The contempt of the “Yankee” for this condition is preserved in the epithet “muskrat Frenchman,” in allusion to the hut-like dwellings of the poorer classes.⁴³

On the whole, the largest settlements were the most prosperous, especially those on the Detroit and Raisin

39. Croghan's *Journal*, in Thwaites' *Early Western Travels*, I, 152.

40. *A. S. P., Public Lands*, I, 267.

41. *Ibid.*, I, 192.

42. *Ibid.*, I, 191.

43. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 352. See Jouett's description of those on Otter and Sandy creeks. *A. S. P., Public Lands*, I, 190.

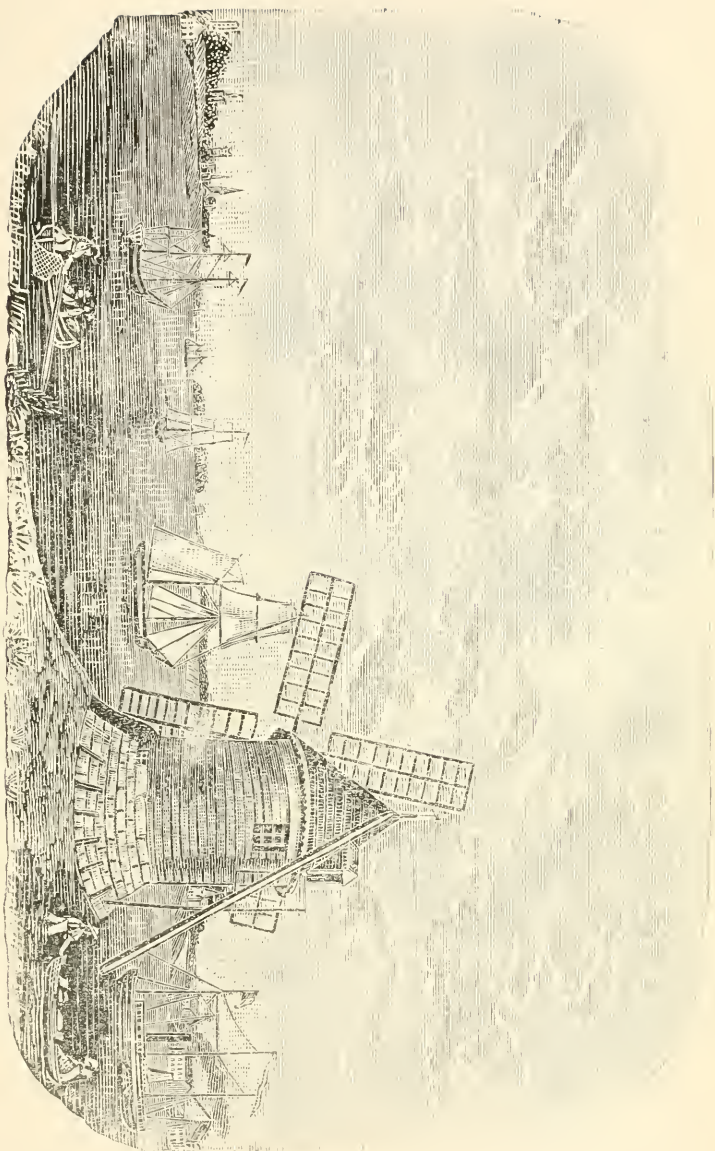
rivers. In the large settlement on the shore immediately north of Detroit, says Jouett, the houses were "once comparatively of the better kind," though rapidly decaying. Below Detroit he found the houses "tolerably good." Judge Campbell and Bela Hubbard recall what in the early days was a picturesque witness of French husbandry there, the many windmills and watermills, "most of which were grist mills"⁴⁴ for which grain was furnished by the neighboring lands. The farms on the middle St. Clair are described by Jouett as "fertile and well improved,"⁴⁵ and some of the settlers on the Clinton were "agreeably situated." On the Raisin he found "tolerably well improved" farms with comfortable houses of hewn logs and generally the necessary outbuildings. McLaughlin says that the French on the Raisin were on the whole more ignorant and less thrifty than those about Detroit — referring apparently to conditions after the War of 1812.⁴⁶

The industrial and economic conditions in the French settlements reveal a people of primitive life

44. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 359; II, 103.

45. This was doubtless partly due to the enterprise of the Detroit firm of Meldrum & Park, which made improvements there.

46. McLaughlin, *Lewis Cass*, 88. The proportion of British or other than Canadian-French inhabitants in these settlements, appears to have been very small. Jouett specifically mentions three exceptions on the Raisin River, and four on the Clinton. The latter, he says, were "Englishmen of industry and enterprise." On the St. Clair, he reports all as "Canadians." There seem to have been a larger number of exceptions in the Ecorse and Rouge settlements, if we may judge from his mentioning that the "majority were Canadian French."



THE KNAGGS WINDMILL, DETROIT

(*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VI, 501)

Type of the Michigan French-Canadian windmill. Built about 1814 on the Detroit River within present city limits. Belle Isle and Sandwich appear opposite. Sketch made about 1838 by Mr. William Raymond of Detroit. See p. 110.

and habits. In the words of a contemporary commenting on the French of the lower Raisin in 1819, "The old inhabitants are a very indolent set of people, the lower class of which depend almost wholly on hunting for their living. Those of a higher class make good dependence on the fur trade with the Indians which is tolerable good at present."⁴⁷ Their skill in hunting and trapping and their usually pleasant relations with the Indians formed a large asset of the fur companies, and in these pursuits the French often showed much force of character.⁴⁸ Contact with wild life in the forests of Canada and the Northwest through many generations could not but give a decided bent to their thought, character and habits. And this bent was strengthened by restrictions of the French Government, intended apparently to insure their servitude to the interests of the seigneurs in the fur trade.⁴⁹ The British Government seems to have had quite as little interest in these settlements so far as concerned their agricultural development. It allowed no new lands to be taken up without in each case express permission from the king.⁵⁰ A statement made by Mr. Lymbruner, agent of the Province of Canada, seems to represent the early sentiment of the British

47. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 485.

48. *Ibid.*, II, 104.

49. See a list of conditions imposed in French grants to Detroit settlers in 1707. *A. S. P., Public Lands*, I, 182; also Lanman, *History of Michigan*, 66, 318-319; and the *Magazine of Western History*, IV, 375. But Judge Campbell believes these restrictions were so little insisted upon as never to have been burdensome in practice. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 101.

50. *A. S. P., Public Lands*, I, 269. Royal proclamation of Oct. 7, 1763.

Government towards the whole region environing Detroit, who in 1793 before the House of Commons declared it his opinion that the obstacles to Detroit's growth were so great that they "must greatly impede the progress of settlement and cultivation for ages to come."⁵¹

A contemporary, Judge Woodward, has left a pleasing description of the Canadian-French settlers in Michigan. According to his sketch we see them habitually gay and lighthearted, yet pious; honest beyond comparison; generous, hospitable and often refined; and with no cares from "ambition or science."⁵² The apparent lack of ambition in the Michigan Canadians was owing largely to the paternalistic regime under which they and their ancestors had so long lived which accustomed them to look for everything to be done for them or to be imposed upon them by some authority from without. It would therefore require some time to adjust themselves to the "Yankee" idea of paying taxes to support schools and government, and it was to be expected that they would not take kindly to those successive stages of government which should entail upon them additional expense. The Frenchman's contentment with the slow-going ways of his ancestors was doubtless due to his setting no great value on time, of which he had an abundance. He could not well understand the spirit of hurry that characterized the "practical, hard-working, money-

51. Farmer, *History of Detroit*, I, 336. The particular obstacle was the obstruction offered by Niagara Falls to eastward transportation.

52. A. S. P., *Public Lands*, I, 264.

getting Yankee," which disturbed him.⁵³ His "conservatism," his opposition to change, was an expression of this satisfaction with things as they were. These settlers were apparently unconscious of their poverty and consequently would not sell their meager improvements for several times the real value.⁵⁴ This was in some degree a real hindrance to settlement, as when they refused to allow their farms to be disturbed by the needed widening or extending of streets in Detroit. Again, they naturally adhered to their mother tongue, necessarily somewhat of a barrier between them and the eastern immigrants,⁵⁵ as were also their manners and customs, which are said to have been those of a hundred years before.⁵⁶ Class

53. See Mr. Campau's comparison of the French Canadian and the American or Englishman in this respect, as quoted in the *Magazine of Western History*, X, 395.

54. McLaughlin, *Higher Education in Michigan*, 10.

55. "Their so-called patois is the old French tongue continued almost unchanged, like the manners and habits of those who use it." *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 364. The *Gazette* published several columns in French in its earlier issues, and reprinted important notices or documents often in parallel French and English columns. In that paper for November 1, 1825, the "French Gazette" is advertised, subscriptions to be received at the office of the *Gazette*, but so far as the writer knows this was not published. In 1805 when the commissioners of the Land Office wished to employ someone, other than the clerk of the Board, to translate the French deeds, it is stated that they could find no one sufficiently qualified in whom confidence could be placed. *A. S. P., Public Lands*, I, 267.

56. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 359. Bela Hubbard says that "the Canadians were speedy to adopt the superior implements and modes of cultivation used by the Anglo-Saxon settlers." *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 353. The editor-

consciousness was in some measure fostered by the traditions and services of the Catholic Church.

Though the accounts lay emphasis on the indolence of the French-Canadians in Michigan as farmers, these settlers appear to have been anything but spiritless or heavy. These scions of the "careless, laughter-loving Frenchman" seem to have enjoyed life keenly. Bela Hubbard says that in the gloom following the speculation of 1835-37 "there was no lack of French gaiety, which arose to an unusual degree when times were at their worst, in the winter of 1841."⁵⁷ The keynote of their life even among the poorer classes appears to have been social enjoyment. The sociability of the French-Canadians has become proverbial and many are the tributes to their hospitality even to strangers. The sharp contrast between the early French and English relations with the Indians is instructive. In the words of Judge Campbell, "The people though pious were not bigoted, and their associations with men of a different race and belief led to no difficulties."⁵⁸ This promised well for happy social relations between the French and American settlers of Michigan.

At least among the better classes of the French settlers there was a considerable degree of refinement.

56. *Cont. ials of the Gazette* were continually admonishing the French to improve their time and opportunities in agriculture.

57. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 360.

58. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 104. For the social conditions and customs, particularly of the poorer classes of the French Canadians in Michigan, see Lanman, *Michigan*, 55-56; Wing, *History of Monroe County*, 44-45.

The Catholic priests, men of broad culture, refinement and learning, had much influence over the lives of their charges. As a whole the French were ingorant of books, but they were neither boorish nor unintelligent, and they appear to have had as high a standard of morality as is usually found on the frontier.

In keeping with the personal honesty of the French was their loyalty to the governments under which they successively lived. Judge Campbell says of their loyalty to England, "It was the recognition by the French of their new allegiance that disconcerted Pontiac and destroyed his plans."⁵⁹ He finds no evidence of their alleged disaffection towards the United States later, and Bela Hubbard recalls that their indignation over Hull's surrender was still warm when he came to Detroit in the early twenties.⁶⁰

The French were devout Catholics. One of the strongest influences in the early days of the American occupation of Michigan was that of Father Gabriel Richard, whose life in the settlements was one of unselfish sacrifice in the interests of both Protestants and Catholics.⁶¹ It has been unjustly alleged that

59. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 103.

60. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 361, 363, and Bela Hubbard, *Memorials of a Half Century* (N. Y. and Lond., 1887), 142.

61. Elliott, "Sketch of the Life and Times of Rev. Gabriel Richard of Detroit, Michigan," in the *American Catholic Historical Researches*, XVI, No. 4, (October, 1899); Girardin, "Life and Times of Rev. Gabriel Richard," *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 481. The *Free Press* for September 27, 1832, contains a biographical sketch and notice of his death. His portrait is in Sheldon's *Early History of Michigan* (N. Y., 1856), opposite p. 205. Gabriel Richard was a native of Saintes, France, on his mother's

Father Richard was not interested in the education of the French; his report in 1808 on the condition of education in Detroit and the other settlements made for the information of the Territorial officials shows that he deplored the low state of education and earnestly desired its betterment.⁶² At Spring Hill below Detroit he fostered an academy which gained much reputation in that day for its liberal curriculum;⁶³ he fostered Catholic schools at Detroit, Springwells and on the Clinton River.⁶⁴

Excepting Detroit the founding of these settlements does not reach back much beyond the period of the American Revolution.⁶⁵ The first French settlements

61. *Con.* side a descendant of Bishop Bossuet. He came to Detroit as priest and teacher in 1798, building St. Anne's Church after the fire of 1805. He was a delegate to Congress from Michigan in 1823, and gave his life in the service of the cholera sufferers during the epidemic of 1832.

62. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IV, 485-486, and McLaughlin, *Higher Education in Michigan*, 15.

63. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 364.

64. The general condition of education among the French is reflected in the often quoted extract from an article in the *Gazette*, August 8, 1817, purporting to be confidential advice from one of their number; it reads in part: "Francais du Territoire de Michigan: Vous devriez commencer immediatement a donner une education a vos enfans. Dans peu de tems il y aura dans ce territoire autant de yankees que de Francais, et si vous ne faites pas instruire vos enfans, tous les emplois seront donner aux yankees." But the fact that the French were supposed to be able to read this has some significance.

65. The British post on the St. Clair River held by Patrick Sinclair from 1765, seems an exception. He is said to have secured from the Indians 3759 acres of land, from which he cut much pine timber. In 1782, on leaving the country, he deeded his land to a Canadian, Votieur, from whom it was secured at an auction sale by the firm

in Michigan outside of Detroit seem to have been made immediately above and below that point. In the years during the Revolutionary War from 1776 to 1783 settlements were made at Grosse Isle and on the Ecorse and the Rouge, and large purchases of a speculative nature were made in the vicinity of the Raisin.⁶⁶

65. *Con.* of Meldrum & Park at Detroit; they held it at the time of Jouett's report. For Patrick Sinclair, and the post at this place, see Jenks' *History of St. Clair County*, I, 92 et seq.

66. In 1776, Pierre Francois Combe bought about 4000 acres on the Ecorse, and placed his settlers on it very soon afterward. In the same year William McComb bought the same amount on Grosse Isle and Stony Island. In 1779, 8000 acres were purchased on Otter Creek. In the following year Joseph Benac secured about 6000 acres on Sandy Creek, and Francois Navarre secured a similar title to between 1200 and 1500 acres on the lower Raisin. These purchases are mentioned in *A. S. P., P. L.*, I, 265, and Wing's *History of Monroe County*, 93. For an account of the settlements on Grosse Isle and on the Ecorse and the Rouge see *Ibid.*, I, 191, as given by Jouett. The titles to the lands purchased on these shores were various; many of them were of such doubtful validity as to cause their claimants much anxiety. It was one of Jouett's principal duties to investigate and report upon them. (*A. S. P., P. L.*, I, 266.) There were principally four classes of titles obtained under the French. (*A. S. P., P. L.*, I, 264-268; Lanman's *History of Michigan*, 59-61). Of these some were based on grants made by the French governors, with or without confirmation by the King of France. Others were based on assent of the French officers commanding at the forts. A fourth had only long and peaceable possession in their favor, accompanied in some cases by improvements. In *A. S. P., P. L.*, I, 270-273, are given lengthy illustrations of these titles claimed under the French. There appear to have been no French titles to land in Michigan except at and near Detroit. (*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 102.) Many titles were based on purchase from the Indians.

In 1784, immediately following the treaty of peace with Great Britain, a large colony under the auspices of Francis Navarre settled upon his land on the Raisin.⁶⁷

66. *Con.* These seem to have been generally of a few hundred acres, though there were several varying from 5000 to 100,000 acres (*A. S. P., P. L., I, 269*). See for illustration of these Indian titles, *Ibid., I, 273, 279*. Some lands had in favor of their owners some actual improvements; for example, the Meldrum & Park pinery, on the St. Clair River, where there was a dwelling house, two saw mills, a grist mill and a few acres enclosed and cultivated. (*A. S. P., P. L., I, 280*). The number of claims in each of the several classes varied. The amount of land claimed by actual settlement was estimated by the United States land commissioners at about 150,000 acres, and about the same amount was estimated to be claimed by non-resident British subjects. (*A. S. P., P. L., I, 280*). About a hundred claims were alleged to be derived from the British Government. (For discussion at length see *A. S. P., P. L., I, 268*). Judge Woodward, in a report made in 1806, expressed the opinion that there were but eight legal titles to land in the whole of Michigan Territory. (*A. S. P., P. L., I, 283*). The attitude of the United States Government, however, proved favorable to claims based upon actual improvement. In January, 1805, before Michigan became a separate Territory, a petition had been sent to Congress, emanating from leading families among the Canadian-French settlers in Michigan, for confirmation of title to the land that had been improved. (*A. S. P., P. L., I, 214-215*). Judge Woodward strongly recommended these claims to the Government for confirmation. In 1807 Congress
67. Francis Navarre was a native of Detroit, born in 1767. It is said that his ancestry could be traced to Henry IV of France. He appears to have been a personal friend of Wayne, Woodward and Cass, the latter appointing him an associate justice of the county court in Monroe County in 1817. Wing's *History of Monroe County*, 93-95, 106. See *Ibid.*, 115, for the inducements which Navarre offered to the French Canadians to settle upon his land; also *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IV, 318, and VI, 362.

Settlers now began to come to the St. Clair River, but with this exception and that of the first considerable accession of colonists to the Clinton in 1788, settlement was sporadic and small from 1784 to the period of Wayne's victory over the Indians and the Indian treaty at Greenville in 1795.⁶⁸ The interest of the Government is evident in the two last events and had been earlier shown in the organization of the Northwest Territory (1787).⁶⁹ From 1792 to 1797 immigration was comparatively large, new settlements

66. *Con.* made it possible for every claimant to get 640 acres of land who could show his claim to have been occupied and partly improved prior to July 1, 1796. The claimant was to pay the cost of surveying it; the narrow frontage would extend each farm many miles from the water front, giving him a hinterland of timber for which he had little present need, but adding much to the expense of the survey; hence about two miles from the water was the usual limitation placed by the Frenchman upon the rear extension of his land. When later these lands were surveyed by the United States, much land was treated as if belonging to the farms fronting the water; this gave rise to what is known as the "lost lands," amounting to several thousand acres. It is said that on the Raisin only about one in twenty Frenchmen had secured title to the whole 640 acres originally offered by the Government. A case frequently cited which became the basis of later decisions in these litigations, is that of Bruckner's Lessee vs. Lawrence, 1 Doug. 19. See Wing's *History of Monroe County* for a clear description of the origin of the disputed claims; also *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VI, 363-364.

68. Bureau of American Ethnology, *Eighteenth Annual Report*, Part 2, pp. 654-655. This treaty gave the United States a title to a strip of shore land about six miles wide, including the Raisin settlement and land northward to a point between Detroit and the Clinton River. The limits of this treaty cession are indicated by the dotted black line in *Ibid.*, plate CXXXVIII.

69. Indeed this had been shown in 1784; see Jefferson's plan for its government.

beginning on Otter and Sandy creeks and new accessions accruing to the Raisin settlement.⁷⁰ Shortly after the Jay Treaty with England in 1796 the American flag was raised on the Raisin, and then came the first American settlers;⁷¹ but between that time and the organization of Michigan as a separate Territory no new settlements appear to have been made. By far the largest immigration appears to have come after the peace of 1783 in the period of American rule.⁷²

Three-quarters of a century before these settlements (1701) Detroit was founded by La Motte Cadillac.⁷³

70. Jouett, in *A. S. P., P. L.*, I, 190.

71. Wing, *History of Monroe County*, 38.

72. *A. S. P., P. L.*, I, 281. According to this report, about three-fifths of the French came after 1783.

73. For the founding of Detroit, see C. M. Burton, *Cadillac's Village* (Detroit, 1896). A very good popular treatment of the life of Cadillac, with some criticism of the sources, is given in *Landmarks of Detroit and Michigan*, pp. 21-26. The *Jesuit Relations* (Thwaites Ed.), LXIX, 306-310, contains brief biographical sketches of the most important of the first French settlers at Detroit. The early history of the settlement is sketched by Richard R. Elliott in the *United States Catholic Magazine*, I, 345-365; III, 264-273; IV, 113-124. See also Charles Whittlesey's "Indian Affairs around Detroit in 1706," in the Western Reserve Historical Society, *Tracts*, I, No. 8. The *Jesuit Relations* contains numerous references to Detroit, principally in volumes 68, 69, 70, and 71; see Index volume LXXII, p. 198, under "Detroit." *Landmarks*, I, 193, gives a good summary of the French period. In this work, the early promoters of the village are said to have met substantial opposition from the Jesuits at Mackinac and from the Montreal merchants, the latter acting out of fear of Detroit's future rivalry (pp. 58-67). The large essentials of the British period (1763-1783) are surveyed in pp. 194-244. The neglect of Detroit by the British is attributed largely to the selfishness of British tradesmen (pp. 194-200). A vivid description is given of shocking

In 1803 its actual settlement seems to have covered about four acres. Jouett's picture of it is one of general decay, not excepting the stockade which enclosed the village and fort, supposedly its protection against the Indians. The houses, fronting on narrow straight streets are with few exceptions described as low, inelegant and in a state of decay.⁷⁴ In 1805 fire

73. *Con.* barbarities of the Indian allies of the British (pp. 227-237); see especially the copy of an intercepted letter from a British officer to Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, invoicing a consignment of scalps (p. 227). A description of the Detroit of 1780 is given at p. 220. It is said that in 1782, with the approach of peace, some British sympathizers, mainly people of superior birth and education, removed to Canada and settled along the Thames, the Detroit and the St. Clair Rivers; but many stayed, in the belief that Great Britain would hold the Northwest. The population in 1782 is given as 2,190, which is said to have fallen off to 500 after the Jay Treaty in 1796 (pp. 253-254). British activities at Detroit between these dates are sketched in pp. 238-251. On pages 255-257, Detroit is described as it appeared in 1796 to Isaac Weld, an Irishman who visited the post in October, and whose book, from which the description is taken, appeared in 1799. According to him, two-thirds of the inhabitants of Detroit then were French, and there were about three hundred dwellings in the village. See also Campbell's *Outlines*, p. 213, and compare the description of Detroit in 1793 given by Rev. O. M. Spencer as recorded in Sheldon's *Michigan*, pp. 361-363. It is stated in *Landmarks* (pp. 269-271) that when it was seen that Great Britain would lose Michigan, British land speculators tried to get possession of vast estates by purchase from the Indians and confirmation of the purchases through bribery in Congress. The example of the John Askin purchase of 1795 is cited. For the chief events at Detroit immediately preceding the organization of Michigan Territory, see the same work, pp. 251-268, and compare Sheldon's *Michigan*, 367-374.

74. A. S. P., P. L., I, 191.

destroyed all the buildings and most of the personal property of the inhabitants.⁷⁵ The population at that time has been estimated variously. The Territorial census of 1805⁷⁶ gives 525 heads of families; Ross and Catlin appear to place the total population at about 600.⁷⁷

All of Detroit that was material was swept away in the fire of 1805, and it began life anew practically with the beginning of Michigan as a Territory; indeed, the coming of the new Territorial officials in that year marked the dawn of American settlement in Michigan.⁷⁸ From 1812 to 1815 the growth of the village was seriously interrupted by war,⁷⁹ and thereafter it

75. Official report of Governor Hull, *Ibid.*, I, 247.

76. Farmer, *History of Detroit*, I, 335. See also the names (about forty) signed to the losses sustained by the inhabitants of the village in the fire of 1805, *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 347. Compare Judge Witherell's "Inhabitants of Detroit in 1806" in *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 344B-345.

77. *Landmarks*, 278.

78. The new government began on the second day of July, 1805, *A. S. P.*, *P. L.*, I, 247.

79. A muster roll of 1812 (*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, V, 553), and a tax-roll for the same year (*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IV, 409), shows the population to have been still mainly French, and the figures in the enumeration for 1818, 1110, probably represent mainly the same element (*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 346). The United States census figures for 1810 giving Detroit a population of 2,227 are said (*Gazette*, January 29, 1819), to have represented the "District of Detroit," a district greater than the area of Wayne County in 1819. See extracts from articles by B. F. H. Witherell about conditions in Detroit at the close of the war, in *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XIII, 503-507. The *Journal and Michigan Advertiser* for August 6, 1834, has an article on "Detroit in 1815-1816," giving a minute description of the situation and character of individual houses and stores. The Fort and its surroundings are described in *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 368-371.

grew slowly until the land sales of 1818 attracted the settlers who were to bring the needed stimulus to agriculture, trade, commerce and manufacture.

For the future convenience and appearance of Detroit the fire of 1805 was doubtless fortunate.⁸⁰ Acting upon advice from Congress, the Governor and Judges⁸¹ planned a new city in which the narrow streets of the old French village were superseded by wide avenues.⁸² As a result, though the plan was later somewhat modified,⁸³ few cities in the United States have fairer streets than those of Detroit today. Thomas McKenney, author of *Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes*,

80. C. M. Burton, "Some Benefits that accrued to Detroit from the devastating fire of 1805," *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXII, 431-436. The new Governor, William Hull, immediately upon his arrival opened a sale of land to the former inhabitants of the village. The sales which were made by auction with no payments required down, are said to have brought an average of four cents per square foot. *A. S. P., P. L.*, I, 248. See Farmer's *History of Detroit*, I, 26-31, for a detailed discussion of the functioning of the Governor and Judges as a land board.

81. The official title of the new government.

82. *Territorial Laws*, I, 283, September 13, 1806. It is said to have been modelled upon that of the city of Washington whither the seat of government had been recently removed, and for which the real author of the new plan, Judge Woodward, had a great admiration. Two of the principal avenues of the present city are reminiscent of Judge Woodward and of President Jefferson, his patron, both of whom were Virginians. Woodward had practiced law in Washington since 1795, and was there when that city was laid out. The plan of Washington is said to be reminiscent of our early friendly relations with France, being patterned after the "spider-web" plan of Versailles. *Landmarks*, 273. An article in the *Gazette* for July 18, 1823, speaks of the city as having been laid out on the plan of Philadelphia.

83. By Abijah Hull, a surveyor, and relative of Governor Hull. *Landmarks*, 273.

who visited Detroit in 1826, apparently did not wholly approve of the plan. "It looks pretty on paper," he admits, "but is fanciful; and resembles one of those octagonal spider webs which you have seen in a dewey morning."⁸⁴ The citizens of Detroit would do well, in my opinion, and their posterity would thank them for it, were they to reduce the network of that plan to something more practical and regular."⁸⁵ And his view seems to have been shared by the editor of the *Gazette*, who says that "everyone regretted the plan of our city" which none but "a wild and eccentric mind" could have evolved.⁸⁶ One objection urged seems to reflect the spirit of utilitarianism accompanying the tide of immigration; the plan involved "a great waste of ground," and it could not be enjoyed "by the present generation" because the beauty of the plan depended on compactness of buildings. A more serious objection was urged in the memorial of Detroit citizens to Congress in 1829 which recited the confusion of titles resulting from deeds granted by the Governor and Judges covering the original streets.⁸⁷

In connection with this factor in the settlement of the city there should be mentioned a serious drawback due to the composition of the streets. The soil was formed of a finely divided clay which was mixed with a black loam, and when it was saturated, as it usually

84. The Greeley map (1810) shows eight principal streets radiating at regular angles from a central square. The three streets leading west from the square are crossed at a little distance from the shore by a street parallel to it.

85. McKenney, *Tour to the Lakes*, 141.

86. *Gazette*, August 22, 1826.

87. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Common Council* (1824-1843), 190, 404.

was in the spring and autumn, it made a mud so adhesive and deep as to put the streets almost out of service. The mud was so bad that it is said to have been often necessary to use a horse to get from one side of the street to the other;⁸⁸ there were neither pavements nor crosswalks in this period.

The only means of ingress or egress to Detroit by land was along a road passing near the shore, which for a large part of the year was scarcely less muddy than the city streets. By this road in 1818 the mail was supposed to arrive once a week, but it was often delayed. The importance of the mails was one of the chief incentives to the improvement not only of this, but of all roads in the Territory. Prompt mail service was a source of great concern to the local newspapers, which depended upon it for eastern and foreign news; and when the issue of the papers was held over, as it often was, an editorial explanation was pretty sure to appear expressing disappointment and urging the need of better roads for the mail service. It was more than a decade, however, before there was much improvement.⁸⁹

The frontier character of life in Detroit in 1818 is reflected in primitive conditions on every hand.

88. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IV, 471. For street legislation by the Governor and Judges see *Territorial Laws*, I, 286, 289. See also *Proceedings of the Board of Trustees of the City of Detroit*, 11-12.

89. For example of later complaints see the *Gazette*, March 12, 1824. For the state of this road at that time see *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 412, 496, 501. Cf. Brown, *Western Gazetteer*, 166-168. The isolation of Detroit in the winter is reflected in an advertisement by Joseph Fairbanks (*Gazette*, January 1, 1819) who "will keep in the winter a good span of horses and sleigh which he will hire to

Detroit was the center of a flourishing frontier fur trade; in ordinary merchant trade the common method of exchange was barter, and the unit of value was generally a pound weight of prime beaver-skin; accounts were kept in that currency,⁹⁰ largely owing to the fact that the war had made money scarce. Prices were on the whole high, especially on articles imported from the eastern states. In a local paper we read, "Since the last war, a greater price has been continually paid in Detroit for flour, beef, pork, corn, etc., than is paid in any market in the United States."⁹¹ Tea is said to have been \$3 a pound.⁹² The *Gazette* for January 22, 1820, says: "As prices are in our market, a New England farmer of common industry and enterprise could purchase one or two good farms with the avails of his barnyard and vegetable patch for one year."⁹³

89. *Con.* parties on reasonable terms. He intends to make two or three journeys to Buffalo this winter if a sufficient number of passengers can be obtained to remunerate him."

90. *Landmarks*, 431.

91. *Gazette*, July 30, 1819. July 17, the best flour is quoted at \$8 per barrel, and prime pork at from \$21 to \$24 per barrel. Winter quotations in 1832 (*Gazette*, December 19), placed best flour at from \$5 to \$5.25 per barrel, and prime pork at from \$8 to \$9 per barrel. Schedules of prices appear in the *Gazette*, corrected weekly, for a great variety of articles.

92. Farmer, *History of Detroit*, I, 800.

93. One turkey would buy one acre of land. Other items are given. An "Act regulating the Assize of Bread" (*Proceedings of the Board of Trustees of the City of Detroit*, March 25, 1816), appears to have been still in force, fixing the price of bread according to a sliding scale based on the price of flour. The maximum and minimum prices of flour per hundred weight are assumed at \$8 and \$3; when at \$8, the weight of the loaf is to be 3 lbs., 6 oz.,

There was as little manufacture as mercantile trade. The French way of living created little need for manufactures aside from a few simple articles of domestic use. A small quantity of leather was tanned, which was marketed mainly at Montreal; the Indians furnished mats, dressed deerskins, moccasins, baskets, brooms, and some 150,000 pounds of maple sugar annually.⁹⁴ A few artisans made trinkets for the Indian trade.⁹⁵

The lake commerce of Detroit in 1818 may be measured by the shipping belonging to that port, which amounted to nearly a third of all the Lake Erie shipping owned in the United States.⁹⁶ The exports for that year were sixfold greater than the imports. Together they amounted to less than \$85,000. Imports amounted to about \$15,000. The relatively large export trade probably represents furs.⁹⁷

93. *Con.* for 25 cents; when at \$3, the price is to be 12½ cents for a loaf of 3 lbs., 10 oz. See also a long act regulating the markets, *Ibid.*, November 20, 1816.

94. Estwich Evans, an eye witness of trade conditions at Detroit in 1818, gives a very good description of them in Thwaites' *Early Western Travels*, VIII, 221. The gradual increase of early trade may be estimated by following the additions to the advertising pages in the *Gazette* (1817-1830), where detailed price lists of articles for sale are given by leading stores.

95. *Gazette*, July 30, 1819. The same paper for April 3, 1818, advertises that a mill is ready for the manufacture of flour and lumber on Tremble's Creek five miles above Detroit.

96. This was 849 tons out of a total of 2,334 tons. *Gazette*, January 29, 1819.

97. Most of the exports, excepting cider, apples, salt and fish, appear to have been sent principally to the garrisons at Mackinac, Green Bay and Chicago. The imports of were derived mainly from Ohio and New York. The

Of public utilities there were few or none. Drinking-water was carried from the river in pails and kept at the houses in barrels; these barrels of water were the sole protection against fire, and were supplied with handles to expedite their use against fire in case of need.⁹⁸ By an ordinance of the board of trustees in 1815 each householder or renter was to provide himself with a "wooden vessel" which should hold about twenty-five gallons of water, together with a pole strong enough to sustain it;⁹⁹ but even this amount of protection seems not to have been taken seriously, if we may judge from the fact that Governor Cass was fined for violating the ordinance.¹⁰⁰ The agitation for public water works reached the stage of first experiments about 1820.¹⁰¹ The health of the city was endangered by public nuisances which do not

97. *Con.* elementary nature of this commerce may be judged from an abstract of the principal articles of domestic produce entered and cleared, coastwise, at the port during 1818. *Gazette*, January 29, 1819. See also the "Port of Detroit" in *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 470; also a sketch of Detroit's marine interests prior to 1837 in *Landmarks*, 560-563.

98. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IV, 466; XVIII, 462.

99. *Proceedings of the Board of Trustees*, December 4, 1815, p. 4. A supplementary act, February 25, 1819, provided a primitive fire company, *Ibid.*, 40. See other Territorial fire legislation in *Territorial Laws*, II, 348, 349; III, 842.

100. *Ibid.*, 16. See also lists of fines, *Ibid.*, 43, 49, 58, 64, etc., also "History of the Old Fire Department" in *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IV, 410-419.

101. *Landmarks*, 446-448; and "The Detroit Water Works" in *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IV, 466-471. The latter is an anonymous contribution to the *Detroit Post and Tribune* for December 15, 1877, but, if accurate, it is a very clear statement of early conditions.

seem to have been early removed. In contemporary opinion they were associated with the excessive mortality of the epidemics of cholera in 1832 and 1834. The "intolerable stench" from the "green stagnant pools" and "masses of putridity" dangerous to health is deplored by the *Gazette* of June 22, 1821;¹⁰² however, not much public service could be expected from an annual city revenue of only a little over \$250.¹⁰³

Despite these primitive conditions William Darby, who had traveled extensively, perceived in Detroit in 1818 "all the attributes of a seaport" with "all the interior features of a flourishing and cultivated community, as much so, equivalent to numbers, as any city in the United States;"¹⁰⁴ and in the same year the traveler Estwich Evans conceived the situation promising for a "large and elegant city."¹⁰⁵ Leaders of public opinion at Detroit seem to have been conscious that the year 1818 was opening a new era for the city and the Territory, as appears in the articles commenting on the rapid settlement during that year.¹⁰⁶ It is significant that a census was taken for that year by the Detroit Lyceum, whose members were leaders in the city; it was found that Detroit contained a

102. In 1820 a tax of 500 days labor was levied "for the purpose of removing the nuisance on the border of the Detroit River," a nuisance which apparently polluted the drinking-water. *Proceedings of the Board of Trustees*, 54. See *Territorial Laws*, III, 901, 902, 940, for other legislation regarding public nuisances.

103. Report of the treasurer of the corporation of the city for the year ending May 10, 1819, as given in the *Gazette* for May 21, 1819.

104. Darby, *Tour of the West*. 190.

105. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, VIII, 215.

106. For example, *Gazette*, October 16, 1818.

population, not including the garrison, of 1,040, with 142 dwelling houses.¹⁰⁷ According to the same authority, fifty-one buildings were erected during 1818. Significant of the new spirit is a mere list of the organizations formed in 1817-18, mainly in the latter year.¹⁰⁸

The new spirit of enterprise was an invitation to eastern laborers and mechanics. In the autumn of 1819 masons and carpenters received from twelve shillings to \$2.25 a day, and common laborers \$1 a day.¹⁰⁹ In Philadelphia men were working on turnpikes for a shilling a day, while four or five thousand people were out of regular employment; harvest laborers were working for half of their former wages. In Detroit (1821) masons are said to have been obliged to discontinue work for lack of brickmakers.¹¹⁰ At least a beginning was being made by organized labor;

107. Report of a committee of members of the Detroit Lyceum to that body, in the *Gazette* for January 29, 1819. The figures are said to be for an area of three-fourths of a square mile. The public buildings, about ten, were all of brick or stone, the Government storehouse was a three-story building. Stores, shops and public buildings together numbered 131.

108. The Protestant Society, Bible Society, Moral and Humane Society, Sunday School Association, Library Company of the City of Detroit, Mechanical Society, Agricultural Society, The Lyceum, Bank of Michigan.

109. *Gazette*, September 17, 1819. Women received for housework from \$6 to \$8 per month.

110. *Ibid.*, October 12, 1821. According to a report unanimously adopted by a committee of the common council in February, 1827, the winter season afforded little employment. It was recommended that the city provide work on public improvements until the opening of navigation should bring a return of the usual business activity. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Common Council* (1824-43), 49.

the Detroit Mechanics' Society, incorporated in 1820, appears to have come into existence at least informally in 1818.¹¹¹

The tendency of the French-Canadians to regard all "Yankee innovations" with suspicion stood not a little in the way of Detroit's material progress. The elder Antoine Beaubien, it is said, forcibly resisted the surveyors who outlined the opening of the city's main thoroughfare, Jefferson Avenue, through his property.¹¹² In 1832 a committee of the common council reported that Joseph Campau refused to receive the sum assessed to him for damages due to the enlarging of Griswold Street.¹¹³ A New York visitor who passed through Detroit in 1834 says that the French were not disposed either to sell or improve their property. To quote his comment: "Many of the farms now cross the streets of Detroit at right angles at the upper end of the town, and of course, offer on either side a dozen building lots of great value. The original owners, however, persist in occupying them with their frail wood tenements and almost valueless improvements, notwithstanding large sums are continually offered for the merest slice in the world off the end of their long-tailed patrimonies."¹¹⁴ Recent writers offer the apology that the French had great provocation, in the manner in which their wishes were

111. *Territorial Laws*, I, 794. The names of members are there given. See a notice of the society's meeting in the *Gazette*, July 17, 1818.

112. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXI, 500.

113. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Common Council* (1824-43), 219. The damages were assessed at \$2,160.

114. Hoffman, *A Winter in the West*, I, 120-121.

overridden;¹¹⁵ a contemporary accounts for their caution by their experience in having been so many times cheated.¹¹⁶

The city profited much by its position at the very door of the new Territory. It became a rendezvous for settlers and a clearing-house of ideas about the interior. Frequently settlers who intended to go to the interior or further west to Wisconsin and Illinois made only tentative plans until they should reach Detroit, where many were induced to settle within its limits or in its vicinity. The reaction of the agricultural settlements was soon to become a positive and strong stimulus to settlement in the city, which in turn would put new life currents circulating through the rural districts.¹¹⁷

Compared with the earlier days the period beginning with the land sales and the opening of steam navigation on Lake Erie showed rapid progress; but imagination could easily overdraw the picture. It was not until 1822 that a second steamboat appeared on the Lakes, which on its first arrival at Detroit brought only ninety-four passengers. The land sales attracted a considerable number of settlers; but there appears

115. *Landmarks*, 284.

116. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 485.

117. As quoted above, high prices were used as an argument to encourage the immigration of farmers. It was urged that Ohio farmers made a good profit on stock even after paying the cost of transportation. In 1818 1,042 beef cattle and 1,435 hogs were supplied to Detroit from Ohio. *Gazette*, January 29, 1819. See also an editorial of January 22, 1819. Efforts were made also to stimulate the French farmers; see, for instance, the French portion of the *Gazette* for August 22, 1817.

to be no proof for the frequent statement that there was a great inrush of settlers from the very beginning. There were many signs of an eastern element in the population, among which was the formation of the First Protestant Society in Detroit, with about a dozen members.¹¹⁸ City lots near the Capitol building were quoted in Janaury 1824 as selling at \$100, and an advance of a hundred per cent was anticipated during the next season.¹¹⁹ The city boundaries were extended¹²⁰ and apparently a new interest in local government is expressed in the new city charter of 1824 creating a common council.¹²¹ By a census

118. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 420-422. The constitution of this society is there given, with about twenty signatures. By 1825 it seems to have had forty-nine members. *Ibid.*, I, 423.

119. *Gazette*, January 2, 1824.

120. *Territorial Laws*, II, 221. For other extensions of the boundary in the Territorial period see *Ibid.*, I, 283, 535, 875; II, 339, 480, 913.

121. *Territorial Laws*, II, 221. Interesting features to settlers were the provisions regarding the franchise and the powers of the council, especially over taxation. Voters must be freemen of the city having the qualification of electors of members of the Territorial legislature; they must have resided in the city one year next preceding the election, and be residents of the city at the time of the election. For provisions existing since the establishment of the government under the board of trustees in 1815, see *Proceedings of the Board of Trustees*, Acts of October 24, sec. 6, and May 3, 1821, sec. 1; also *Territorial Laws*, I, 314. The freemen of the city had direct control over taxation. A tax on the real and personal estate of all freemen within the city could be levied by the majority vote of the freemen assembled at a meeting called pursuant to notice by the mayor or recorder with the advice and consent of any two of the aldermen. *Ibid.*, II, 226. For later additions and modifications see *Ibid.*, II, 347, 349, 640; III, 1048, 1122. Apparently nonresidents could not be so taxed. The question of

"recently taken" which appeared in the *Gazette* for January 2, 1824, Detroit had a population of 1,325, exclusive of the garrison. Some five hundred people were living outside in the immediate vicinity.¹²²

With the opening of the Erie Canal evidence of new life in the city increased more rapidly and a growing consciousness of competition with other lake ports, especially with Cleveland, appears.¹²³ Fifty-eight new

121. *Con.* the legality of taxing their property came up in 1832 over the raising of money to defray expenses incurred by the city during the epidemic of cholera. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Common Council* (1824-43), 223. Other powers granted to the Council by the Act of 1824 are specified in *Territorial Laws*, II, 223, and supplementary powers in *Ibid.*, II, 342, 345, 348, 570; III, 935, 938, 939, 1123, 1269, 1422. The mayor, recorder and the five aldermen were required to be freeholders. *Ibid.*, II, 221. The recorder, clerk and treasurer were to be appointed by the mayor and five aldermen or by a majority of them. By an act of 1827 seven aldermen were to be elected and all ministerial officers were to be appointed and removed only by the common council. *Ibid.*, II, 571. For characteristics of the government established in 1806, see *Ibid.*, IV, 3. The first city charter was granted in 1802. The civil history of Detroit as viewed by a competent contemporary (Major John Biddle) is printed in a series of articles in the Detroit *Daily Advertiser*, 1836, for June 14, 16, 18 and 23.

122. The article is entitled "A View of Detroit." According to this, there were 300 buildings, of which 155 were dwellings. Nearly half were two stories high, and some three stories. A number were of brick and stone. See an interesting note on the Detroit of 1824 in "Incidents of Pioneer Life in Clinton County." *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 149.

123. For example, the editor of the *Michigan Herald* (November 22, 1825), undertakes to correct alleged misrepresentations of Detroit made by the editor of the *Cleveland Herald*. The issue of the same paper for October 18, 1825, compares conditions at Detroit with those at Buffalo, and Portland on Sandusky Bay.

buildings were erected in 1825, of which nearly one-half were two stories high.¹²⁴ McKenney, whose brief epitome of Detroit for 1826 has the authority of a competent eye witness, says that "Jefferson Street" was pretty well built up in that year, also the first street from the river, and the three or four cross streets, but that houses were comparatively few and scattering back of Jefferson.¹²⁵ He mentions thirty stores. Mail came three times a week.¹²⁶ The Territorial census of 1827 records 380 heads of families in the city, of whose names at least half appear to be other than French.¹²⁷ In that year a growing civic consciousness appears in the report of the committee of the common council to investigate and suggest improvements of the city, and their report probably furnishes a fair estimate of the most pressing needs at that time; of some dozen suggestions the first four, considered apparently the most important, concerned the removal of disease-breeding refuse from the margin of the river, a sewer, a new fire engine, and pavement for the principal

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124. Lanman, *History of Michigan*, 231. A summary of conditions in the city in 1825 is given in a memorial of the citizens to the Territorial legislature; see the *Michigan Herald*, August 9, 1825. At the election of city officers April 4, 1825, 115 votes were cast, but the number of votes at succeeding elections makes it appear hardly representative of the voting population. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Common Council* (1824-1843), 18-19; 217 votes were cast the next year. *Ibid.*, 28-29. The names are given in each; a large proportion are French.
125. McKenney, *Tour to the Lakes*, 141. See also *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IV, 89-94.
126. *Gazette*, February 7, 1826.
127. *Census of Michigan*, 1884, I, xlviii. *Mich. Hist. Colls.* XII, next to page 461. See also for this period "Detroit in 1827 and Later on," in *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXV, 272-283.

streets.¹²⁸ The stimulus to this action appears to have been a desire to utilize the recent Federal grant of ten thousand acres of land from the adjacent military reservation, which is mentioned as making unnecessary a tax to carry out the proposed improvements. Still one gathers the impression of a rural, though thriving, waterside village. In the statement of occupations in the census of 1827, 451 people were engaged in agriculture, 46 in manufacture and 5 in commerce. It is said that in 1829 a little way up Jefferson Avenue a common rail fence enclosed a fine clover field. Many of the houses on this principal street appear to have been still the little whitewashed tenements of the Canadian-French, palisaded as they originally were for defense against the Indians.¹²⁹

Detroit felt the full force of the rising wave of immigration in 1831. A contemporary says, "The demand for stores and dwelling houses is unprecedented. We have not been prepared to meet the exigencies arising from so rapid an increase of our numbers, and almost every building that can be made to answer for a shelter is occupied and filled."¹³⁰ Buildings were in process of erection in various parts of the city. This prosperity was somewhat checked in 1832 by

128. March 12, 1827. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Common Council*, (1824-43), 50-52.

129. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXX, 448.

130. *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser*, June 15, 1831. The same paper for July 13, 1831, copies from *Bicknell's Philadelphia Register* long extracts from a letter dated June 2 describing Detroit in that year. See the reminiscent sketch by an eye witness of conditions in 1831 in *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 395-398; XXI, 496.

the Black Hawk War¹³¹ and an epidemic of cholera, but the check proved temporary.¹³² An editorial in the *Detroit Courier* for August 7 of the following year congratulates the city on its freedom from cholera when so many places in the West were suffering. A much severer visitation afflicted the city in 1834 when it is said to have lost a seventh of its population;¹³³ yet the new buildings erected that year were of such number and quality "as to give the city an air of elegance which could hardly have been anticipated a year ago."¹³⁴ It is recorded that the new white buildings on avenues twenty-five yards wide gave the place the appearance of a "city of yesterday."¹³⁵ Detroit is said to have had in 1834, 477 dwellings and 64 stores and warehouses some of which were four-story buildings.¹³⁶ By the official census of 1834 the population was then a little less than five thousand.¹³⁷ Mail came from the East daily by steamboat and daily mails were received from various

131. *Magazine of Western History*, V, 33, 36; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VI, 239; XVIII, 606.

132. It is said that of the two hundred persons attacked, about one-half died. *Landmarks*, 380. For general conditions in that year see "Detroit in the year 1832," *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXVIII, 163-171.

133. *Ibid.*, 382. It is said that for some time the city was quarantined and a rigid guard kept to prevent anyone from entering or leaving. Deaths became so frequent that the tolling of the church bells was discontinued in order that the living might get sleep. *Landmarks*, 381.

134. *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser*, October 1, 1834.

135. Hoffman, *A Winter in the West*, I, 111-113.

136. MacCabe's *Directory of Detroit* (1837), 37, reporting the census of 1834.

137. *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser*, April 9, 1834.

points in the interior.¹³⁸ A further awakening to consciousness of the needs of the growing city is shown in a report of the finance committee of the common council in which an effort is made to introduce some order into the corporation's financial affairs.¹³⁹

Detroit shared fully in the extraordinarily rapid growth of the Territory in 1835-37.¹⁴⁰ Early in 1835 the land office was thronged with speculators and home seekers, and more land was bought at the Detroit office in that year than in any year of the Territorial period.¹⁴¹ The hotels and lodging places of the city were not sufficient to accommodate the press of immigrants. In 1836 when lake navigation had yet scarcely opened, a city paper comments on the necessity of many immigrants' having to stay for a time on board the boats for lack of suitable quarters in the city.¹⁴² It was estimated by contemporaries that for the seven

138. *Ibid.*, June 18, 1834, contains an official notice of the arrival and departure of mails. Mails were received daily from points on the Chicago Road, and weekly from Oakland, Macomb and St. Clair counties. A southern mail was received triweekly.

139. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Common Council* (1824-43), 258. This contains an abstract of the receipts and expenditures of the corporation between January 1, 1825 and March 1834.

140. For useful illustrative reminiscent sketches of Detroit in these years see *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IV, 459-465; X, 97-101; XXXI, 490-509. Brief biographical sketches giving a fair view of the personal element in Detroit's growth at this time appear in *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXVIII, 585-638.

141. The amount of land sold at the Detroit Land Office from the beginning of the cash system in 1820 to November 1836 is given in MacCabe's *Directory of Detroit* (1837). The climax of big sales came after 1820 periodically, in 1825, 1830 and 1835.

142. *Detroit Daily Free Press*, March 23, 1836.

months of open navigation, with an average of six boats arriving daily, some 200,000 people came and went through the port.¹⁴³ The official census of 1837 gives the city a permanent population of nearly ten thousand, with upwards of thirteen hundred dwellings and stores.¹⁴⁴ Woodward Avenue was beginning to rank among the first business streets. The city was more or less densely settled for a distance of about three-quarters of a mile back from the river and for a mile along the river front.¹⁴⁵

The new immigration gave a strong stimulus to the business of the city. A Detroit paper says, "Our city has never evinced such decided proofs of prosperity and rapid growth as it has shown the present summer and autumn;"¹⁴⁶ and says another, "Such is the ordinary bustle of business that we forget how much we are really bound by the cold and ice of winter."¹⁴⁷ In the autumn of 1836 the amount of business seems to have been about double that of the same season the year before.¹⁴⁸ Business conditions at the beginning of 1837 may be judged from nearly

143. MacCabe, *Directory of Detroit* (1837), 36; Blois' *Gazetteer*, 278.

144. 9, 763. MacCabe, *Directory of Detroit* (1837), 37. He gives in a list of "streets, lanes and allies" (pp. 40-42) some eighty streets. Blois gives only eight principal streets.

145. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 271.

146. *Detroit Journal and Courier*, September 19, 1835.

147. *Detroit Daily Free Press*, January 20, 1836.

148. *Detroit Daily Advertiser*, September 6, 1836. The 27 new stores opened that spring all appeared to be doing a prosperous business; see business directory of the city in the same paper for June 11, 1836, apparently confined to the subscribers of the paper.

four pages of advertisements in the *Detroit Daily Advertiser* for the second day of the new year.

A complement to this was an increase in the price of city lots and the value of adjacent property. Lots at the lower end of Jefferson Avenue are said to have sold in the winter of 1835 at \$150 a foot,¹⁴⁹ while in the following summer five lots fronting on Jefferson Avenue sold at auction for between \$285 and \$292 per foot; a corner lot on Jefferson and Cass sold for \$450 a foot.¹⁵⁰ The rising value of property in the outskirts of the city is illustrated in the prices brought by the farms of Lewis Cass and Governor Porter. The Cass farm of about 500 acres bought nineteen years before for \$12,000, and which when offered in 1831 for \$36,000 found no buyer, is said to have sold for \$168,000 in 1835.¹⁵¹ Two miles below the city on the Porter farm about seventy-five acres apparently brought nearly \$20,000, though only \$6,000 is said to have been paid two years before for the whole farm of 350 acres.¹⁵²

The business of the city was temporarily somewhat checked by the flow of money to the interior for investment, but many buyers were able to take the larger outlook for the future of the city. It was emphasized by the press. "The rage for buying land subtracts from the business of the city," admits the *Detroit Daily Advertiser*,¹⁵³ "but accelerates the settle-

149. *Detroit Daily Free Press*, December 25, 1835.

150. Michigan Political Science Association, *Publications*, IV, 523. *Detroit Free Press*, June 17, 1836.

151. *Detroit Journal and Courier*, July 15, 1835.

152. *Ibid.*

153. June 11, 1836.

ment of the country—for the buying mania drives on the tide of immigration. When the retarding causes we have referred to shall be removed, our city must of necessity expand all its business operations with a rapidity which we have not yet witnessed.” By the close of the Territorial period, from one-half to two-thirds of Detroit’s trade is said to have been with the interior.¹⁵⁴ Many merchants in the new settlement made all their purchases in the city. Ten extensive forwarding and commission houses are mentioned by Blois and MacCabe. Prices, especially of flour, appear to have risen steadily from 1835 to 1837, but a falling off ensued then owing partly to the abundant harvests on the newly settled farms of the interior.¹⁵⁵ As to the financial panic of 1837 and its disastrous effects upon Detroit, these have been described elsewhere in their relation to the Territory as a whole.¹⁵⁶

The relation of Detroit to the interior appears in the fact that all of the principal roads of the Territory led to it, from St. Joseph, Niles, Kalamazoo, from Grand Rapids and Saginaw, and from beyond Michigan in Illinois and Ohio. Stages were running on all these routes by 1837; daily for Sandusky, Chicago, Flint and Fort Gratiot, and triweekly for St. Joseph by

154. Blois’ *Gazetteer*, 277. Cf. MacCabe, *Directory of Detroit*, 35-36. The city was well situated for this trade, being the capital and chief port of the Territory for commerce with the eastern states. The fur-trade declined as the Territory became settled, and was comparatively unimportant by the close of this period. Blois’ *Gazetteer*, 275.

155. *Free Press*, December 23, 1835, quotes flour at \$6.25 per bbl. In Farmer’s *History of Detroit*, I, 800, the price of flour is given for 1837 as \$11 and \$16; for 1838, \$8; for 1842, \$2.25.

156. See above, Chapter II.

the Territorial Road. But the roads were tortuous, muddy, and full of the stumps of newly fallen trees. Their condition in the vicinity of Detroit appears in the following newspaper comment on the price of wood, "What a strange fact that in a city surrounded by forests the price of wood should be five, six and seven dollars a cord."¹⁵⁷ Greater facility of transportation was beginning to be sought in railroads. By the close of the period charters had been granted to many railroad companies and strap-railroads were approaching completion from Detroit to Ypsilanti and Pontiac;¹⁵⁸ but the day of tolerably efficient service from railroads was at least a decade away. The press of immigration emphasized the need of better ferry service between Detroit and the Canada shore.¹⁵⁹ Many immigrants and their families were obliged to remain on the Canada side for days and at great expense before they could get passage across the river.¹⁶⁰

A natural accompaniment of the increase of trade was the new demand for labor, especially in activities related to building. The demand for mechanics in

157. *Daily Advertiser*, December 24, 1836.

158. MacCabe, *Directory of Detroit* (1837), 36; Blois, *Gazetteer*, 278.

159. A ferry-boat propelled by horse-power was introduced in 1825, and a steam ferry in 1830, but they fell short of the need.

160. *Free Press*, March 24, 1836. That paper says a new ferry was then building. The issue of March 28 hails the "glorious news for Detroit" that apparent progress is being made on the Canadian bill to incorporate a railroad company to build from some Canadian point west to the Detroit River. The issue for April 2 gives the debates on the bill in the Canadian Legislature.

1835 was greater than could be met.¹⁶¹ A daily paper notices the recent organization of the House Carpenters and Joiners' Beneficiary Society "to promote a good understanding between the employers and employed, to prevent and adjust disputes, to promote mechanical knowledge and to provide for those members and their families who may be reduced to want by sickness, accident or other unavoidable calamity."¹⁶²

The new impulse to settlement is reflected also in the growth of manufacture and commerce. Nine "extensive" factories are mentioned by Blois, the largest of which employed each about twenty men; he mentions also two breweries, of which one is credited with being the largest west of Albany.¹⁶³ The increase of lake navigation and commerce in these closing years of the period impressed a contemporary as "unparalleled in the history of nations."¹⁶⁴ The lake commerce, which in 1820 was accommodated by one side-wheeler, employed in 1836 thirty steamboats, some of them running to Milwaukee and Chicago; four hundred tons of freight are said to have been carried daily.¹⁶⁵

The material prosperity of Detroit was not without some influence on civic improvements. Following the immigrations of 1826 a loan of \$50,000 was made by

161. *Free Press*, December 23, 1835.

162. *Ibid.*, April 26, 1836. The society appears to have been incorporated in 1838. *Session Laws* (1838), 242. The Detroit Union Society of Carpenters and Joiners was incorporated in 1848. *Session Laws* (1848), 234.

163. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 275.

164. MacCabe, *Directory of Detroit*, 35.

165. *Ibid.*, 36.

the city council for that purpose.¹⁶⁶ Their attention was given first to a plan for the sewerage of the city;¹⁶⁷ in this year the "Grand Sewer" was built.¹⁶⁸ Next, attention was turned to the water supply. In the spring of the same year a wag appealing to the members of the temperance society proclaims that "those whose principles forbid disguising water with brandy will be constrained to drink beer," unless something be done.¹⁶⁹ A contemporary writer attributes the epidemic of 1834 to pollution of the supply of drinking water through mismanagement by the hydraulic company;¹⁷⁰ after some agitation the question of public ownership of the water supply was decided favorably and the works of that company were purchased by the city for \$25,500.¹⁷¹ A fire in 1837 which is said to have destroyed fifty-six buildings led to the improvement of the fire department.¹⁷²

166. *Detroit Journal and Courier*, November 17, 1835.

167. *Proceedings of the Common Council*, March 9, 1836.

168. *Landmarks*, 485. Before this the creek known as the Savoyard had been used as an open drain, and is said to have been usually so full of filth as to be a menace to health. The new sewer following the line of this creek was built underground at a cost of \$22,607. Farmer, *History of Detroit*, I, 8-9, 60.

169. *Free Press*, March 26, 1836. The *Detroit Journal and Courier*, July 22, 1835, records that there is hardly a case of sickness, which is attributed to the cool weather and the efforts of the city to remove nuisances. Harriet Martineau saw at breakfast in Detroit on a June morning in 1836 "the healthiest set of faces that I had beheld since I left England." *Society in America*, I, 312.

170. *Free Press*, April 28, 1836.

171. *Ibid.*, May 23, Blois mentions a new "hydraulic establishment" in process of construction, to cost \$100,000. *Gazetteer*, 272.

172. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IV, 413. A city fire department was incorporated in 1840. *Session Laws (1840)*, 13.

The streets were poorly lighted and came in for much criticism by the press. The editor of the *Detroit Journal and Courier* ventured that a few more street lights such as the city had would produce total darkness,¹⁷³ but little seems to have been done to improve them and the mud was as deep as ever; from a pioneer's diary it is learned that "the middle of the street is so constantly stirred up by the carts that it is a sea of mud so deep that the little French ponies often get set with almost an empty cart."¹⁷⁴ Mr. farmer says that one day in 1851 he counted fourteen teams stalled in the mud at one time. There were still few if any pavements or crosswalks; the growing needs of street traffic secured some attention from the council to the question of pavement.¹⁷⁵

The presence of a new population is seen in the character of the city's buildings. The low, frail

173. July 29, 1835. The character of the lamps used appears in an ordinance of April 29, 1835. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Common Council* (1824-43), 322. The City of Detroit Gas Company was incorporated in 1849. *Session Laws* (1849), 82.

174. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 191. For the universal use long made of the Canadian pony cart, see the *Magazine of Western History*, IV, 745-747, and Campbell's *Outlines*, 420-421. They are said to have gone out of general use when the streets began to be paved. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XIII, 492. For street legislation by the Governor and Judges, see *Territorial Laws*, I, 286, 289. See also *Proceedings of the Board of Trustees of the City of Detroit*, 11-12.

175. Harriet Martineau, who was in Detroit in 1836, speaks of wooden planks laid on the grass to "form the pavement" in the outskirts of the city, and says that plans were being made to try the "block-wood" pavement, of which trial had been made in a part of Broadway, New York. Curiously enough, she makes no mention of Detroit's mud. *Society in America*, I, 313.

French-Canadian tenements with their unpainted fronts and moss covered roofs were quite lost among the larger dwellings and shops of the eastern settlers. "In the principal street, called the Jefferson avenue," writes the English author Mrs. Jameson about 1837, "there are rows of large and handsome brick houses; the others are generally wood, painted white, with bright green doors and windows. . . . There are some excellent shops in the town, a theatre, and a great number of taverns and gaming houses."¹⁷⁶ The shifting and unsettled character of the new population is reflected in Blois' description of stores and dwellings built on leased land in such a way that they could be easily moved. It was a common sight, he says, to see one or more buildings removing from one part of the city to another.¹⁷⁷ But the number of permanent buildings appears to have been fairly proportionate to the resident population.

The American population of Detroit in 1837 was principally from New York and New England, as was also a large majority of the officials of both the city and Territory throughout the Territorial period.¹⁷⁸ There were a few from Virginia, of whom Judge Woodward was a strong influence in the early settlement of both city and Territory.¹⁷⁹ Of the states south of Michigan, Ohio furnished the larger number; many prominent citizens of eastern birth came to Michigan from Marietta, Ohio.

176. Mrs. Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, (Lond., 1837), II, 82-83.

177. *Gazetteer*, 273.

178. Farmer, *History of Detroit*, II; *Michigan Biographies*, and *Representative Men*, passim.

179. 1805-23. *Landmarks*, 273.

The Negro element in the population of the city was relatively small. In 1827 it comprised sixty-six free Negroes.¹⁸⁰ The 126 Negroes given in the census of 1830 were about half of the whole number in the Territory.¹⁸¹ The census figures of 1834 give 138 "colored persons," but these figures were apparently affected by the Negro riot in Detroit in 1833 over the attempt to enforce the fugitive slave law, which caused many of the persecuted race to flee to Canada.¹⁸² There appear to have been no slaves owned by citizens at these dates, though the earlier census of 1810 shows seventeen in the Territory.¹⁸³ Since the Ordinance of 1787 was opposed to slavery in the Territory, immigration formed a strong antisalavery sentiment in Detroit, which as a mold of public opinion in Michigan became a strong force in preparing for the crisis of 1860.

The proportion of foreign born citizens in the population was small; the Germans apparently composed the largest European element. Among the eight churches of the city Blois mentions a Protestant Church for Germans and a Catholic Church for English, Irish and Germans.¹⁸⁴ MacCabe mentions a German

180. *Census of Michigan*, 1884, I, xlviii. The semi-official report of the committee of the Detroit Lyceum in 1819 gives seventy "free people of color" for that year. *Gazette*, January 29, 1819.

181. *United States Census* (1830), 153.

182. *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser*, September 10, 1834. Blois mentions a church for "colored persons," *Gazetteer*, 274.

183. Farmer, *History of Detroit*, I, 345. See also *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 415-417.

184. *Gazetteer*, 274.

Church built by subscriptions from citizens of Detroit of all denominations.¹⁸⁵ As early as 1853 the Germans appear to have been numerous enough to form a separate religious organization, said to have been ministered to by Pastor Schmidt of Ann Arbor, and it is probable that these earliest Detroit Germans came with the wave following the European revolutions of 1830 which brought the first Germans to Washtenaw County.¹⁸⁶ By 1835 their voting strength seems to have been sufficient to attract the attention of politicians; at least a city newspaper announces its intention "to detail to the public the manoeuvres of the Central Committee to buy up our German fellow citizens."¹⁸⁷

The French-Canadians appear to have been still a numerous class, and their language seems to have been spoken in Detroit to a considerable extent in 1837. Yet they are said to have been fast amalgamating with the predominant immigrant population.¹⁸⁸ In 1834 they apparently numbered less than one-sixth of the population of the city, "which was a much less proportion to the whole than we had anticipated," comments a city paper.¹⁸⁹ Their voting strength was sufficient in 1823 to elect their candidate for

185. *Directory of Detroit*, 1837. A wooden building 50 x 35 feet.

186. See "Our German Immigrations," *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXVI, 255.

187. *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser*, January 14, 1835.

188. *Gazetteer*, 279.

189. *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser*, April 9, 1834. In a population of 4,973, the French numbered 801. Some accounts of the large French landowners about 1837 is given by a contemporary in "The Last of the Barons," *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXI, 499. Some forty-seven are mentioned.

delegate to Congress, Father Richard, against the combination of two eager and experienced politicians.¹⁹⁰

Though in general the culture of the city had to wait upon the task of subduing nature, it was not lacking in some circles at least even at an early day. Detroit gained socially from being the capital city of the Territory; the leaders of its society were born and educated in cultured sections of the eastern states. On his visit to Detroit in 1826 McKenney wrote, "The company at Major Biddle's last night was sufficient to satisfy me that although I have reached the confines of our population in this direction, I am yet in the circle of hospitable and polished life."¹⁹¹ Hoffman in 1833 found the city "remarkable for agreeableness and elegant hospitality."¹⁹² The society of Detroit appealed to Harriet Martineau on her visit in 1836 as "very choice," and she ventures to say that it had been so since the old colonial days. She found every reason to think that "under its new dignities Detroit will become a more and more desirable place to live." "Some of its inferior society," she says, "is

190. *Landmarks*, 361-362. See comment on the election by a writer in the *Gazette* for October 17, 1823, to the effect that the election was no evidence of "religious toleration in Michigan," since Father Richard was supported only by his own sect. The Patriot War of 1837 is said to have caused the immigration of Canadians to Detroit, but apparently not in large numbers. For this event in relation to Detroit, see *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 573-579. It does not appear that distinctively French or English ideas made any permanent impression upon the fundamental laws of either city or Territory.

191. *Tour to the Lakes*, 113.

192. *A Winter in the West*, I, 120.

still very youthful,¹⁹³—but the most enlightened society is, I believe, equal to any which is to be found in the United States.”¹⁹⁴

This culture was reflected institutionally in many ways, as seen for example in the works of Blois and MacCabe, where much space is given to the theatre, museum, public garden, newspapers, schools, churches, orphan asylums, and to societies of a literary, historical, scientific and moral character.¹⁹⁵ Blois mentions a public library containing 4,100 volumes.¹⁹⁶ Of “chief interest to those who regard the diffusion of useful knowledge as important to the preservation of good morals and of liberty,” is a newspaper-mention of the lyceum and a course of lectures given by Mr. Houghton.¹⁹⁷ The lyceum, founded in 1818, was the forum of Detroit where the leading men of the city as well as amateurs discussed and debated topics of national interest not alone for the sharpening of wits but for the edification of the people. The programs and

193. Traits of this youthfulness appear in a contemporary's description of scenes on an election day of about that time. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 190-191.

194. *Society in America*, I, 314-315.

195. *Gazetteer*, 274-276; MacCabe, *Directory of Detroit*, 30-32. An act for the encouragement of literature and the improvement of the city of Detroit was one of the first acts of the Governor and Judges, September 9, 1805. *Territorial Laws*, I, 67. The sum of \$20,000 for the purpose was to be raised by four successive lotteries.

196. *Gazetteer*, 277. See lists of books for sale by Sheldon and Reed (publishers of the *Gazette*), at the Gazette office at various times, the first appearing July 25 and September 26, 1817. The Library of the City of Detroit was incorporated in 1817. *Territorial Laws*, I, 310. Its meetings are frequently mentioned in the *Gazette*.

197. *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser*, December 29, 1830.



OLD CAPITOL AT DETROIT

(*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXX, frontispiece)

This building, 60x90 feet, was built in 1823-28 at a cost of \$24,500. It was first used by the Legislative Council of the Territory May 5, 1828, and last used by the State Legislature in the session which closed March 17, 1847. After 1848 it was used by the Detroit Board of Education for school purposes. Its classical design reflects a characteristic influence of the period.

reports of these weekly occasions show a sense for the niceties of national questions that would surprise one who should expect to find the "back-woods" giving the predominant tone to the intellectual life of the city.¹⁹⁸ Often the newspapers¹⁹⁹ of the city contained verbatim copies of important congressional speeches and presidential papers. Some historical interest was shown by the formation (1829) of a historical society the character of whose work is indicated by the volume of *Historical and Scientific Sketches of Michigan* published in 1834 at Detroit.²⁰⁰ Governor Cass was long the president and chief promoter of this society.²⁰¹

The schools, though on the whole they reflected the traditions of the eastern states, had obvious frontier

198. See, for instance, an early account of debates and a forecast of speakers for a month in the *Gazette* of February 27, 1818. The constitution of the lyceum is given serially in the *Gazette* for May 8, May 22, June 5, and July 31, 1818. A literary association known as The Young Men's Society, formed in 1833, supplemented the lyceum. See Detroit Young Men's Society, *Reports* (Detroit, 1876). The *Detroit Courier* for February 20, 1833, contains the introductory address of the president (F. Sawyer, Jr.) stating purposes and plans, also the by-laws and standing rules which help to explain its scope and character. The same paper (November 20, 1833) laments the "inactivity" and "deplorable condition" of the society. Apparently it took on new life in 1836, when it was incorporated. *Session Laws* (1835-36), 165. See also *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XII, 361-375.

199. Blois mentions three dailies, four weeklies, one religious weekly, and one monthly devoted to education. *Gazetteer*, 274.

200. The preface of the volume gives an account of the intended work of the society. The contributions are addresses delivered at its meetings.

201. MacCabe's *Directory of Detroit* (1837), on p. 32, says, "We are not apprized of much activity among its members at present." This was after Cass' removal to Washington.

limitations. The classical tradition was strong, but its expression was somewhat amusing, as represented by Judge Woodward, who is said to have been chiefly responsible for the system laid down and enacted into law in 1821 for the "Catholepistemiad."²⁰² Yet this institution was at least a glance in the direction of the future University of Michigan; it was significant for the future that its first professors were a Scotch minister and a Catholic priest.²⁰³ The classical tradition is reflected also in the English Classical School which was started in 1832. In 1834 an interest in female education resulted in the founding of the Ladies' Seminary. Common-school education in Detroit was distinctly frontier in character until the period of statehood. The Catholic schools have been mentioned above; the Protestant schools were quite as meager, and not free as were the Catholic schools.²⁰⁴ Agitation for free schools is reflected in the city papers beginning about 1833, which is the date of a number of revivals due apparently to the stimulus of immigration.²⁰⁵ But it was not until Michigan adopted her

202. *Territorial Laws*, I, 879-882. The initial project was launched in 1817.

203. John Monteith and Father Richard. The *Gazette* for January 29, 1818, contains the advertisement of a Classical Academy to be opened on February 2 next, signed by "John Monteith, President of the University."

204. See an article by a former superintendent of public instruction on "Traditions and Reminiscences of the Public Schools of Detroit," in *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 450. The *Gazette*, April 30, 1819, gives a report on the condition of education in the "primary school" at Detroit. There were 170 children in school in the city in 1818, according to the *Gazette* of January 29, 1819.

205. In 1834, out of 1,496 children between 5 and 20 years of age, 801 were in school. An editorial in the *Detroit*

first constitution that the sure foundation was laid for the practical application of the famous declaration in the Ordinance of 1787, that "Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."²⁰⁶

Scarcely second to Detroit as a center of French-Canadian influence and American settlement was Monroe, situated about three miles and a half up the Raisin on the south bank of the river across from the old village of Frenchtown. The latter had been a depot of the old Northwest Fur Company, and had never contained more than a few dwellings and stores, which were ruined in 1813. The site was favored for a village, by the Americans but it was difficult to get the French, who held the title, to grant enough land for the public purposes of a county seat.²⁰⁷ When the county of Monroe was established in 1817, the seat of its public business was located, therefore, in a new village, across the river, promoted by Americans, and named like the county for the new president of the United States.²⁰⁸

The location of a county seat usually so influenced

205. *Con. Courier*, April 9, attributes this to the lack of free schools, and urges a change. See also an editorial in the same paper for August 19, 1835. Detroit was early excepted from the operation of the general school laws. *Territorial Laws*, II, 776; see also *Territorial Laws*, III, 1238.

206. The religious life of Detroit in the Territorial period is sketched in *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 417-429; III, 225-243; XIII, 424-483.

207. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VI, 362, 374.

208. An account of President Monroe's visit to Detroit that year is given in the *Gazette* for August 16 and 22, 1817.

the popular mind as to give a special impulse to the settlement of a village thus favored. Despite this advantage, however, Monroe grew very slowly for a decade. Its slowness of growth was in common with that of the rest of the county, as well as that of the section as a whole.²⁰⁹ It seems to have felt its first strong impulse about the time of the opening of the Erie Canal. The *Michigan Herald* of April 26, 1826, reports that its population increased more than one-third in the past year.²¹⁰ Another step forward was taken in 1827, in keeping with the general new life around it, when the village polled sixty-two votes on the issue of incorporating, measuring its progressiveness by a favorable vote of forty-three to nineteen.²¹¹ The population had grown in 1830 to 478; for the year 1834 estimates vary from 1,200 to 1,600, which was about one-seventh of the population of the county. Hoffman says that in 1833 the village had about one hundred and fifty houses, of which twenty or thirty

209. The presence of Americans at Monroe is signalized by the advertisement in the *Gazette* for July 25, 1817, of a "new wholesale and retail store" opened by H. Pierce and Company. The extent of their anticipated trade is seen in a fairly good assortment of dry goods, groceries and hardware. Special inducements are offered to traders; furs will be received in payment. The *Gazette* for July 3, 1818, has a favorable editorial on the "new village of Monroe." According to a letter from Monroe dated February 7, 1819, quoted in *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 484, many "English people" (Americans?) are moving in daily.

210. See also the *Gazette* for December 13, 1825. The opening of the land office in 1824 made the village a center of attention.

211. Wing, *History of Monroe County*, 138, 141; Hoffman, *A Winter in the West*.

were of stone. He mentions two gristmills, a woolen factory, an iron foundry, several sawmills, a chair factory and a tannery. These were undoubtedly all on a very small scale, but they reflect the environment and resources of the village and indicate the trend of activities. The village, says Hoffman, was "the fussiest little town in the world;" to him it looked "as if the buildings had all been tossed from the other side of the river and left to settle just where they might fall upon this." Touching the progress of the village he adds, "if the place continues to increase as rapidly, however, as it has during the last year—the population having doubled in that time—the inhabitants can afford to burn down the river side of the village, and arrange it to more advantage."²¹² The awakening of the village in 1826-27 is reflected in the preparations for making the mouth of the Raisin suitable for a harbor, for which the National Government had made an appropriation.²¹³ In 1834 a steamboat built there is said to have been ready to begin its trips to Buffalo.²¹⁴

In contemporary opinion Monroe seemed to have the promise of becoming a great city. Men of prominence who were apparently competent judges made it their home, and in 1835-36 a group of men known as the Cass Company—named for Lewis Cass who was the leading spirit—are said to have speculated heavily in neighboring lands.²¹⁵ Rivalry with Toledo

212. Hoffman, *A Winter in the West*, I, 127-128.

213. *Statutes at Large*, IV, 229; Hoffman, *A Winter in the West*, I, 45, 169.

214. *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser*, September 24, 1834; Wing, *History of Monroe County*, 139.

215. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VI, 369.

stimulated the city to make large appropriations to supplement those of the National Government for a ship-way direct to the waters of Lake Erie.²¹⁶ Its prospects were considered superior to those of Chicago, whose population and business it fully equalled at that time, and whose position near Lake Erie was nearer to the East by the whole length of the Lakes. It was a natural port for southeastern Michigan. The daily stages between Detroit and Buffalo carried its passengers and mail, and railroads were chartered to connect it with the interior. The amount of grain from the interior seems to have been sufficient to support two flouring mills there in 1838. Apparently the first shipment of flour from Michigan was the two hundred barrels made in Monroe and sent to New York in 1827. Its abundant water power and neighboring timber afforded great facilities for manufacture. According to Blois it had in 1838 three sawmills and numerous factories. Besides timber there was a great quantity of limestone for building material.²¹⁷ Among its cultural institutions Blois mentions a branch of the University, two female seminaries and six churches. By the census of 1837 the village and township had a population of something under three thousand people, of whom about one-half appear to have been French-Canadians.²¹⁸

216. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VI, 369, 382; Wing, *History of Monroe County*, 170-176.

217. Blois mentions a courthouse of hewn stone which cost upward of \$35,000. *Gazetteer*, 327.

218. *Ibid.*, 328; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VI, 371-372. The latter writer says that not one-fourth of the Canadians could speak English, and that not more than one in twenty could write it correctly.

There were several shore settlements between Monroe and Detroit which in 1837 gave promise of becoming centers of population: Brest, Gibraltar, Flat Rock, Brownstown and Wyandotte. In the view of its founders Brest was to become "the great commercial center of the West," but its population in 1860 was less than 100.²¹⁹ Even more pretentious in 1837 were the activities of the company at Gibraltar, which had the typical outfit of the "paper town" and was similar in nature and fate to Port Sheldon opposite to it across the Territory on the shore of Lake Michigan.²²⁰ In 1837 a canal is said to have been half completed between Gibraltar and Flat Rock, a village about a half dozen miles up the Huron River where there had gathered an estimated population of about 250 people.²²¹ Brownstown and Wyandotte were old Indian villages, and the inhabitants in 1837 were chiefly Indians.²²²

Beyond Detroit in Macomb County on the lower Clinton lay Mt. Clemens, which up to 1818 had been a trading post and mission station rather than a true settlement.²²³ American settlers began to come to Mt. Clemens at about the same time as to Monroe. Like Monroe it was located at some distance from the

219. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 258; Clark, *Gazetteer* (1863), 205. It was about six miles north of Monroe, owned by a company which in 1837 was busy constructing piers for the harbor.

220. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 290. It was on the Wayne shore about twenty miles south of Detroit.

221. *Ibid.*, 286. See also the *Detroit Courier* for March 6, 1833.

222. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XVIII, 518; XIII, 310; *Detroit Courier*, March 6, 1833; Bureau of American Ethnology, *Eighth Annual Report*, Part 2, p. 690.

223. *History of Macomb County*, 181-186.

mouth of a considerable river,²²⁴ had an important nucleus of settlement in its vicinity²²⁵ and had similar relations with Detroit as a market and supply station. Like Monroe also it received its first impulse with the opening of the public land sales and became a county seat; but unlike Monroe, it was not in the direct line of immigration from the East, and this was an important differential in its early growth.

The village was platted in 1818, when it numbered about fifteen families.²²⁶ in the same year a post-office was authorized.²²⁷ An advertisement of that year in the *Gazette* represented the village as eligibly situated about four miles from the shore in an excellent farming district, and the river as navigable to the village for "large boats," springs of excellent water as abundant, and the village as the county seat.²²⁸ Its most public spirited citizen, and perhaps the strongest single personal influence in the early settlement of the county, was Christian Clemens, who came originally from Pennsylvania. He became the founder and namesake of the village, and it was through his public gifts that the county seat was secured.²²⁹ About 1822-23 came the first signs of a real awakening with the arrival of the first merchant, physician and mill.²³⁰

224. *Ibid.*, 889, describes the mouth of the river as flat and marshy.

225. Brown, *Western Gazetteer*, 158.

226. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VI, 358.

227. *History of Macomb County* (1882), 523.

228. *Gazette*, September 25, 1818. The sand bar and the marshy district near the mouth of the river were not mentioned.

229. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XVIII, 490; *History of Macomb County* (1882), 524.

230. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IV, 312; V, 462.

The date of the second *Gazette* advertisement of the advantages of Mt. Clemens appears to reflect the impulse given to the settlement of the Territory by the opening of the Erie Canal. Emphasis is laid upon the situation of the village as high and healthful. Its one physician, who was planting potatoes when the writer called, is quoted as saying that the place was so universally healthful that he had quite too much leisure. At about that time an impulse to building seems to be indicated by the starting of a brickyard, and the beginnings of shipbuilding appear in a 120-ton schooner then under construction. In 1834, the same year in which the first large boat appears to have been launched at Monroe, another paper announces the readiness of "two large ships" at Mt. Clemens.²³¹ By the close of the period the abundant sand for glass was being used; in the *Free Press* of January 7, 1836, there is mentioned a glass factory just put in operation which employed sixty hands from eastern factories.²³²

The growth of Mt. Clemens in this period was apparently somewhat slower than that of Monroe. Its population in 1836 is said to have been between 800 and 1,000.²³³ It was incorporated a decade later than the more southerly village.²³⁴ This slowness seems to have been due partly to the speculation in village lots and in neighboring lands. The village

231. *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser*, April 9, 1834.

They were of 130 and 150 tons respectively, and smaller ones appear to have been built about the same time.

232. This was for the manufacture principally of window glass.

See also the same paper for January 11.

233. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, V, 53.

234. *Ibid.*, VI, 359.

was surrounded by a "cordon of paper cities"²³⁵ and the high prices of suitable locations drove intending settlers to choose the cheaper Government land elsewhere. Again, the influence of Detroit overshadowed the village, which had to share also with Pontiac, Rochester, Utica, Romeo and other places, the interest that was being directed northward from Detroit. Monroe was in the direct line of immigration, at least after 1826, and had no near competing rivals excepting Detroit.²³⁶ The road²³⁷ and harbor improvements at Mt. Clemens compare unfavorably with those at Monroe, although much money was expended later to connect the village with the interior by canal.²³⁸ In 1833 eight stores were sufficient to meet the needs of its trade.²³⁹

The oldest center of population in the region of the St. Clair River is St. Clair, which has a British military tradition that dates from 1765. A small

235. *Ibid.*, V, 53; *History of Macomb County* (1882), 432.

236. The areas of the townships containing the two village centers were about equal in 1834, but Harrison Township received this area only that year, while the boundaries of Monroe Township date from 1827. *Territorial Laws*, II, 477; III, 1275; *History of Macomb County*, 142.

237. Mt. Clemens was at the junction of the Clinton River and the Fort Gratiot Road, but the ice appears to have been more frequently used in the winter. *History of Macomb County* (1882), 262-263.

238. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, V, 469 quotes from the *Detroit Journal and Courier* for July 20, 1838, an account of the celebration at "the Queen village," of the Clinton and Kalamazoo Canal. One speaker, in a burst of optimism, lauds the day "which will be recollected by the people of Michigan as the proudest that ever happened, or can again transpire while her soil remains a component part of terra firma."

239. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 329.

colony of French-Canadians²⁴⁰ which had survived the War of 1812 made their home there, and on one of the French farms parties from Detroit laid out in 1818 at the junction of the Pine and St. Clair rivers the "Town of St. Clair," which was to become the county seat of St. Clair County.²⁴¹ Its growth was very slow. Blois mentions but three stores there in 1838.²⁴² Its chief industry was lumbering; five saw mills were operating in its vicinity in that year and it had one steam flourmill. Blois mentions also a good harbor.²⁴³

Elsewhere along the St. Clair, principally at junctions with its branches, sufficient beginnings were made in this period to indicate centers of later growth. At these points swift currents ran between high banks and the supporting industry was lumbering. The future Marine City and Port Huron were then in embryo. The former, at the mouth of the Belle River, was laid out into village lots in 1831.²⁴⁴ In the period of greatest speculation, 1835-36, its site appears to have been bought by Ohio speculators and replatted as "New Port."²⁴⁵ Except for the county buildings

240. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXIX, 172; *History of St. Clair County* (1883), 254.

241. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IV, 356. See advertisements of lots for sale, signed by C. McDougall, in the *Gazette* for August 7, 1818. Emphasis is laid on the harbor, which "will admit the largest vessels at all seasons." The place was long known as Palmer.

242. *Gazetteer*, 237, under "Palmer."

243. For the village of St. Clair see Jenks, *History of St. Clair County*, I, 137, 157, 251, 257, 281, 369.

244. *History of St. Clair County* (1883). There appears to have been some shipbuilding there as early as 1825.

245. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VI, 413; XXI, 339.

it quite equalled in appearance the enterprise of St. Clair.²⁴⁶ Port Huron, laid out in 1835²⁴⁷ at the junction of the Black River with the St. Clair, became the center of the lumbering industry in the St. Clair region. A "thriving village," says Blois, "and being the central point for the lumber business, it is considered the most flourishing of any in the county."²⁴⁸ Measured by its twelve stores it had three or four times the trade of St. Clair and Marine City. Its exports for 1837 amounted to about \$150,000,²⁴⁹ and its importance in contemporary opinion is shown by its selection in 1837 as the eastern terminal for the Northern Railroad.²⁵⁰ A fourth village was platted on the St. Clair in 1836 at Algonac, which Blois mentions as small but doing considerable business.²⁵¹

To Harriet Martineau in 1836, "there seemed to be no intermission of settlers' houses all at regular

246. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 332, credits it with four stores in 1838, and it appears to have had also a sawmill and a gristmill. There had been some shipbuilding as early as 1825, when the place was known as Ward's Landing. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VI, 413. See for general discussion, Jenks, *History of St. Clair County*, I, 144, 259.

247. Lumbering in the Port Huron region seems to have started on the Black River about 1827. The village was started first at the mill six miles from the St. Clair, but miscalculation of waterpower brought it down to the junction. In 1833 there are said to have been some eighteen buildings there. *History of St. Clair County* (1883), 496.

248. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 346.

249. *Ibid.*, 240.

250. See *Michigan House Documents* (1837), No. 9, 13-14, for reasons favoring the mouth of the Black River as the terminal. For Port Huron see Jenks, *History of St. Clair County*, I, 143, 153, 253, 366, 368.

251. *History of St. Clair County* (1883), 256; *Gazetteer*, 317. See also Jenks, *History of St. Clair County*, I, 264.

distances along the bank," and about the same time Mrs. Jameson was impressed with the contrast between the settlement of the American and British shores of the St. Clair River. "As usual," she says, "the British coast is here the most beautiful and fertile, and the American coast the best settled and cleared. Along the former I see a few isolated log shanties, and groups of Indian lodges; along the latter several extensive clearings, and some hamlets and rising villages;"²⁵² she thought this might be due to the better accommodations for transportation on the American shore.

Aside from these four river centers of settlement and a narrow strip of open land along the banks threaded by the Fort Gratiot Road from one settlement to another, there was scarcely a settler in the region at the end of this period. St. Clair County had then less population than any other county in the section. Significant were the positions and areas of the four townships of the county in 1834, which changed but slightly from 1827 to that date.²⁵³ Their long axes, extending parallel from the St. Clair River to the western boundaries of the county, suggest that in relation to the settlers there was little choice of stopping places between the river and that boundary. The gradually increasing width of the townships from south to north suggests the gradual thinning out of population northward, and there is some significance

252. *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, II, 107. Lanman gives a picturesque description of settlement along the St. Clair River in his *History of Michigan*, 266.

253. *Territorial Laws*, II, 478.

in the correspondence between their positions and the courses of the Belle, Pine and Black rivers.²⁵⁴

The relatively slow settlement of the St. Clair region was due partly to misrepresentations, partly to its dense forests, but mainly to its distance from the direct route of immigration which led settlers to the more open country in southwestern Michigan. In 1836 the relative importance of the settlements along the St. Clair with those in the interior is shown by the inclusion of the whole of the northern part of the county in the large township of Clyde and the formation of the two narrow river townships of Sinclair and Desmond.²⁵⁵ But there was some inland settlement by 1837. The census for that year shows some six hundred settlers in the area formerly covered by the township of Clyde as compared with over thirteen hundred in the two river townships immediately east of it.²⁵⁶

“The query may be suggested, Why has not this country been settled sooner?” says “Philo Veritas,”²⁵⁷ and adds, “I will briefly answer; a detail of satisfactory reasons might be assigned, but the principal one is, that those who have given the chief direction to emigration have not deemed it consistent with their local interests to settle the county of St. Clair, and the reasons may be readily discovered by reflecting on the relative situation St. Clair and Wayne county

254. Blois says the settlements in 1838 were mainly in the southern half of the county and on the St. Clair River. *Gazetteer*, 241.

255. *Session Laws* (1836), 80.

256. *Michigan Legislative Manual* (1838), 73.

257. *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser*, May 4, 1831.

hold to one another, and the other parts of the peninsula; consequently St. Clair has been represented a swamp, a sink of pestilential vapors breeding disease and death."

But apparently the St. Clair region felt with the rest of the Territory the common impulse to settlement that came with the first land sales, the opening of the Erie Canal, and the era of speculation in the early thirties. The platting of the "Town of St. Clair" in 1818 has been noted. The first report in the *Gazette* of an exploration into the interior back from the St. Clair River, in 1822, was very favorable to settlement,²⁵⁸ and just after the opening of the Erie Canal there appeared a second favorable description.²⁵⁹ Others followed in 1831-32. These were written obviously by persons desiring to promote the settlement of the county, yet they did not overdraw its advantages.²⁶⁰ The advantages for shipbuilding and pine lumbering were specially dwelt upon. The growth of lake commerce and the approaching completion of the Erie Canal stimulated interest in these industries. As above noted, boats were being built at the sites of Marine City and St. Clair in the early twenties, as also at the upper end of the St. Clair near Lake Huron. "Boats, calculated to pass through the lakes St. Clair and Erie, and the New York Canal are now building

258. *Gazette*, September 6, 1822. It reports a rich soil, an undulating surface, pure streams of water, mill sites rich in timber, and less waste land than elsewhere.

259. *Ibid.*, July 18 and August 1.

260. *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser*, May 4, 1831.

near the foot of Lake Huron," says the *Gazette*²⁶¹ in 1824, "for the purpose of taking cargoes of produce to the city of New York." According to "Philo Veritas" above quoted, St. Clair County furnished by 1831 almost all the pine lumber (spars, boards, shingles, etc.) used in the eastern part of Michigan and in the northern part of Ohio.²⁶² Settlement was somewhat aided by the Government's interest in Fort Gratiot²⁶³ at the upper end of the St. Clair River, which drew the military road northward from Detroit through the sites available for settlement along the river; but it was long before this route was much more than a rude wagon road.²⁶⁴ From 1834 to 1837 the population of the county grew from about two thousand to six thousand.²⁶⁵

The central physiographic influences which affected settlement in the interior immediately south of the St. Clair country were the Clinton River, the presence of the village of Mt. Clemens as a supporting basis from which settlement might radiate, and the openings,

261. *Gazette*, July 16, 1824. For early shipbuilding in St. Clair County see Jenks, *History of St. Clair County*, I, 403, et seq.

262. Detroit *Journal and Michigan Advertiser*, May 4, 1831. Nine sawmills were reported running on Black and Belle rivers.¹

263. See description of the advantages of Fort Gratiot for a military post in the *Gazette* for August 29, 1826. Fort Gratiot was established near the close of the War of 1812 on the site of an early French fort. (St. Joseph, abandoned 1688). See also Jenks, *History of St. Clair County*, I, 95 and 262, et seq.

264. See Jenks, *History of St. Clair County*, I, 384, et seq.

265. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 151; *Michigan Legislative Manual* (1838), 73. The effect of the panic of 1837 is seen in a decrease of population to 4,606 in 1840. *U. S. Census* (1840), 447.

plains and prairies in the western portion of Macomb County. The strong current of the Clinton furnished adequate power for mills, and the openness of the country in the upper course of the river gave good promise of quick returns in farm, stock and dairy produce. Settlers found their chief market, shipping point and source of supplies in Mt. Clemens, but in the western part of the county, in the days before mills, settlers at Romeo and Utica usually went for grist to Rochester and Pontiac. Timber abounded in all parts of the county. In the northeastern portion, a region destined to be the supply center for the future shipbuilding of Mt. Clemens, the comparative density of timber made settlement slow.

Land-buying took place in the interior of Macomb county about as early and energetically as in either Wayne or Monroe counties. By 1821 land had been bought in all of the western townships excepting Warren,²⁶⁶ where no purchases were made until 1830. Buyers specially favored the southern part of Washington Township. About 1830 sales became rapid in the extreme northwest and apparently many of the purchasers became actual settlers. Twenty-four purchases were made that year in the present Bruce Township, but no purchases were made in the northeast of the county until after 1830. The lands of this county seem to have suffered from the same misrepresentations that were noted above of St. Clair

266. *History of Macomb County* (1882), 470-471; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXVI, 548; XXVIII, 423. The *Gazette* observes, November 1, 1825, that though Macomb County is not settling as fast as Oakland and Washtenaw, "it will have its turn."

County. According to a writer in a Detroit paper, because of "local jealousies and a narrow-minded policy pursued by interested speculators and their numerous agents" Macomb County had been more grossly misrepresented than any other section of the Territory.²⁶⁷

The date 1830 marks about the beginning of active settlement in the interior of Macomb County. In agreement with this date is the evidence of township organization as to the massing of population at this time in the western part of the county.²⁶⁸ Apparently this is the meaning of the longer north and south axes of the townships there, which comports with the fact that the largest township in the county remained in the center undivided until 1834.²⁶⁹ The comparative openness of the west is probably reflected in the fact that the northwestern townships received in 1833 the areas they have today,²⁷⁰ while the northeastern townships remained relatively large.²⁷¹ The relative backwardness of settlement in the central and southern parts of the county are shown by the censuses of 1830 and 1837. At each date the bulk of the population appears in the west, away from the shore, although by 1837 the figures show the influence of the Clinton River in massing population along its course. In 1837 the

267. *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser*, June 8, 1831. In the *Gazette* for October 11, 1822, appears a vigorous denial that sickness was prevalent in Macomb County.

268. *Territorial Laws*, II, 478.

269. *Ibid.*, III, 1275.

270. *Ibid.*, III, 985. See the *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser*, June 8, 1832, for a description of settlement in the county in that year.

271. *Ibid.*, III, 1124, 1275.

western range of townships stood to the eastern in population as 3 to 1.²⁷² From 1830 to 1834 the population of the county increased from about 2,500²⁷³ to about 6,000,²⁷⁴ and in the following three years the total ran nearly to 9,000.²⁷⁵ This is evidence of fairly steady growth.²⁷⁶

Centers of population were developed in Macomb County at Romeo and Utica. It is probable that some slight beginnings of the trading post nature were made at these sites as early as 1817. Romeo had a good situation for the trader, being a point where numerous trails crossed and where the Indians had a village;²⁷⁷ the village of Romeo is typical of that class of settlements in which the Indian village and the French trader marked out a site of promise. Its immediate antecedent was the "Hoxey settlement," a name acquired from one of Governor Cass' employees, a Canadian lumberman who settled there with his family about 1822. This settlement was brought to public attention before 1830 both by the Detroit press and by notice on Risdon's map of 1825.²⁷⁸ The *Gazette* noticed the environment favorably in 1824 and again

272. In 1850 the proportion was 2 to 1, and in 1860 as $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 1, showing the gradual filling in at the east.

273. *U. S. Census* (1830), 153.

274. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 151.

275. *Michigan Legislative Manual* (1838), 72.

276. One new township was organized in 1835. *Territorial Laws*, III, 1368; and three in 1837 in the south and northeast, *Session Laws* (1837), 41, 140.

277. The first name of the postoffice at Romeo was "Indian Village." *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser*, January 5, 1831.

278. The Risdon map shows Tremble's sawmill just above a small branch of the Clinton.

editorially in 1826.²⁷⁹ By the census of 1830 there appear to have been nearly a thousand settlers within a radius of half a dozen miles.²⁸⁰

The village received its first strong impulse from New Englanders about 1827 when it is said that a colony of about sixty people made it their home.²⁸¹ We are told that it was not alone for the advantage of the trails at this point nor for the openness of the country nor for the richness of the soil that these settlers chose the spot, but because its environment resembled New England scenery; and pioneer reminiscences show that usually, other things equal, this sentiment was a strong influence in early settlement.²⁸² The characteristic New England Congregational society was formed at once in Romeo and held meetings in a log schoolhouse in 1828. By 1830 the character of the village had been fairly determined. In that year, or in the following, it was regularly laid out into village lots.²⁸³ In 1836 it is said to have had thirty frame buildings; but stumps still remained in the streets, and there appear to have been yet no regular stages to connect it with the older settlements.²⁸⁴ The New England element in Romeo's population gave it

279. *Gazette*, May 14, 1824, and May 30, 1826.

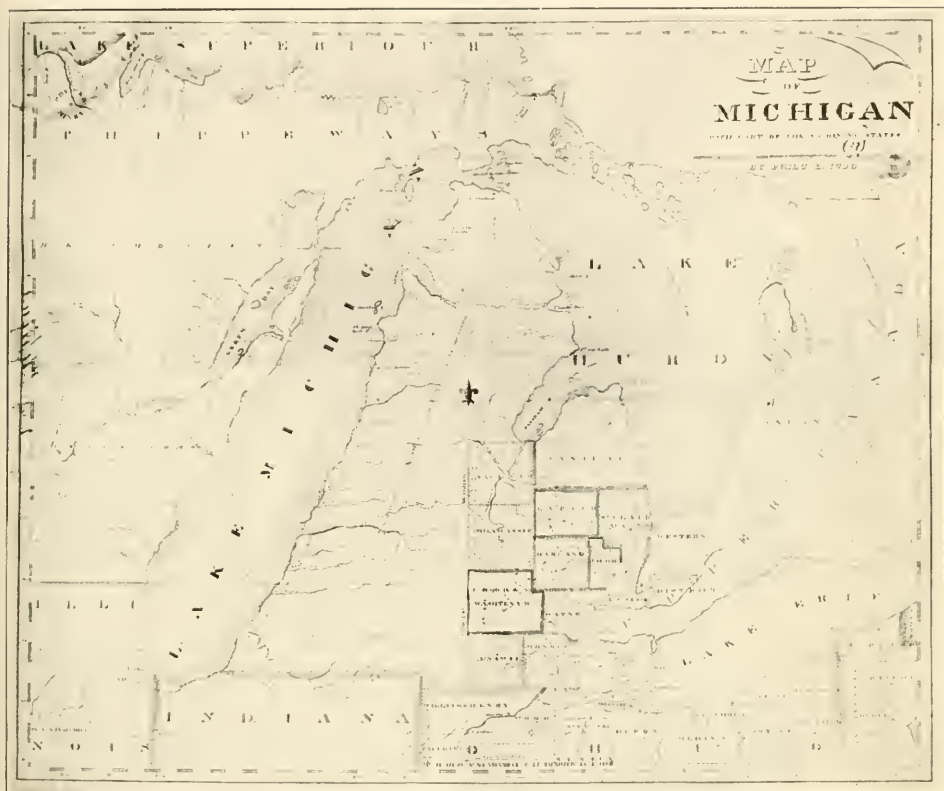
280. *U. S. Census* (1830), 153, under Washington Township.

281. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IV, 314; *History of Macomb County* (1882), 621.

282. For the beauty of this location see an article in the *Detroit Daily Advertiser* for January 30, 1837, describing the site as a beautiful elevation of one or two hundred feet sloping gently to a broad and extensive country about it.

283. *History of Macomb County*, 613. It was not incorporated until 1838.

284. *Ibid.*, 626.



MICHIGAN TERRITORY ABOUT 1824

(*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 634)

This map was drawn by Philu E. Judd of Detroit, and engraved by J. O. Lewis for the Legislative Council of the Territory. The scale is twenty miles to an inch. An original copy is in the State Library at Lansing. See p. 56 (n. 23).

early a reputation for culture and education which was a strong inducement for further settlement there.²⁸⁵

Utica's growth was slower than that of Romeo until 1831, when the large share it received of the immigration of that year led it to dream of becoming the metropolis of the county. It had in the Clinton River a great source of natural power which attracted to it considerable capital for investment in manufacture.²⁸⁶ It seemed to have much to hope from the canal which was projected to connect it with Rochester and the country farther west, as well as from the railway which was to be built from Detroit. Shops, mills and banks were started. This promise was destined to vanish in the hard times soon to follow, but these early beginnings left many substantial foundations for a thriving settlement.²⁸⁷

The relation of inland to shore settlement in the Raisin River country in 1837 was quite the opposite of that on the Clinton River. It resembled in relative importance rather the settlement along the St. Clair.

285. Academic teaching seems to have been afforded there as early as 1835, by a graduate of Williams College who was formerly the principal of a seminary in Utica, New York. *History of Macomb County* (1882), 629-630. See also the communication signed "A Southerner," in the *Detroit Daily Advertiser* for January 30, 1837. Blois mentions an academy with an attendance of fifty pupils in 1838. *Gazetteer*, 353.

286. There is said to have been a sawmill and a distillery at this site in 1828, and a second distillery was built in 1831. *History of Macomb County* (1882), 719. Utica appears to be the village of "Harlow" mentioned in an article in the *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser* for June 8, 1831, as the second village of the county.

287. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IV, 313.

In one respect it was similar—the key to it was the central stream of the region. Monroe County, although it was apparently in a direct line with immigration, received its settlers for many years by way of Detroit, and many were the complaints of bad roads by which settlers had to reach the county from that point.²⁸⁸ Misrepresentations of its lands had also to be met as in the northern counties. “We regret,” says a Monroe paper, “that any attempt should be made either from ignorance or prejudice to excite unfavorable impressions against us.”²⁸⁹ But the greatest obstacle to inland settlement in that county was the heavy forest. Principally for this reason the interior lands of Monroe County lagged at first far behind those of Lenawee County, which were still farther inland but more open.²⁹⁰

Although favorable reports of these interior lands along the Raisin were made early, little attention seems to have been given to them by settlers until about 1822. In 1819 the United States surveyor declared that they were the best tract of country he had ever surveyed.²⁹¹ In 1822 a party of men from Detroit explored the Raisin nearly to its sources, reporting numerous mill sites, uplands of rich sandy soil, and pure water, also that the river might be navigated for seventy or eighty miles by “perogues” of a size sufficient to enable

288. For instance, the *Gazette*, April 19, 1822.

289. The *Michigal Sentinel*, quoted in the *Gazette*, December 13, 1825.

290. *History of Monroe County* (1882), 285-286.

291. *Gazette*, August 6, 1819. See also the same paper for August 4, 1820, calling the attention of emigrants to the Raisin River lands.

them to bear produce down to Monroe.²⁹² In the latter year the attention of intending New York emigrants was called to these interior lands by the *Onondaga Journal*.²⁹³ The desire to encourage immigration to them, as well as the difficulty of reaching the Raisin by land, is reflected in the public notice to emigrants in 1822 that free boats to Monroe would meet every steamboat arriving at Detroit.²⁹⁴ A little later the growing demand for these lands led to a division of the labor of the Detroit Land Office, by establishing the Monroe Land District and the new land office at Monroe. The reaction of these activities upon the growth of Monroe has been noted above.

The most important centers of inland settlement in this county were Dundee and Petersburg. Both were good mill sites on the Raisin, respectively about eighteen and twenty-five miles from the river's mouth, and near the old Indian trail which led out of Lenawee County along the river towards Monroe. Their position placed them on the shortest practicable route from the southwest to Lake Erie. Travel over this route was much increased after the opening of the land office at Monroe in 1824, and many people then gained their first knowledge of this region as they passed to lands which they had bought or intended to buy further west. A tavern to accommodate this travel is said to

292. *Gazette*, August 2, 1822. This exploration probably had some relation to the founding of Tecumseh on the upper Raisin in 1824.

293. Quoted in the *Gazette* for June 28, 1822. See also that paper for July 12, 1822, declaring this to be the first year of general attention to the Raisin River country.

294. *Ibid.*, July 12, 1822.

have been located at Dundee as early as 1831²⁹⁵—probably a settler's house which was regularly shared with the stranger. In 1838 there were at Dundee four saw mills, several factories and a flouring mill.²⁹⁶ A temporary base of supplies for this back country was found in the French farms some miles up the Raisin.²⁹⁷

An inland point of vantage in Monroe County deserving of mention was the Indian reservation at the junction of the Macon River with the Raisin. These small Indian reservations were usually spots of choice land. The Indian village was surrounded by some sections of land reserved by the treaty of 1807, six of which were ceded to the Government in 1817. Even before that year the advantage of this point was seen by a colony of people from Royalston, Massachusetts,²⁹⁸ who supposed it was Government land, and who intended to buy when the land should come onto the market. They suffered the usual inconvenience which attended these mistakes, being obliged to break up their settlement and move away.²⁹⁹

In Monroe County in 1827 township organization apparently indicates that the area of greatest density

295. Wing, *History of Monroe County*, 215.

296. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 282. This point was at the junction of the river with the La Plaisance Bay Turnpike and the Lake Erie and Raisin River Railroad. The villages of Oakville and Lisbon, near the northern boundary of the county, are the only other village centers mentioned by Blois (pp. 312, 334). They were very small and of no later significance.

297. Brown, *Western Gazetteer*, 160-161.

298. Wing, *History of Monroe County*, 46-47, 127; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VI, 364.

299. It is noteworthy that to this day not even a village has grown up there.

of population was on the lower Raisin, and this agrees with other data showing that the area of least density was in the interior of the county towards the northwest. The shore townships away from the Raisin were large; the southernmost extended across the county to the western boundary.³⁰⁰ Frenchtown preserves in its name that of the old French village on the Raisin and commemorates the source of the earliest population; the area of this township remained constant throughout this period. In the interior the large northwestern township of Raisinville testifies to the slight settlement made there; it was altogether too large to be practicable for any but a very sparse population. The name suggests that settlers regarded the Raisin River as a chief factor in its possibilities. The division of the township by a north and south line two years later shows that the probable trend of immigration was along the Raisin, and the first name of the new township, Flumen,³⁰¹ seems to point again to the river as being uppermost in the motives of the settlers. The next year the creation of La Salle Township,³⁰² from Erie, points to the increase of shore settlement about Otter Creek. The year of the survey of the military road³⁰³ through the northwestern part of the county (1832) saw a further subdivision of the old township of Raisinville in the creation of the new township of London,³⁰⁴ which was so formed as to hint at the pre-

300. *Territorial Laws*, II, 477.

301. *Ibid.*, II, 720. Name changed to Summerfield, *Territorial Laws*, II, 763.

302. *Territorial Laws*, III, 843. This act, for some reason, was confirmed by a later act, *Territorial Laws*, III, 907.

303. *Statutes at Large*, IV, 561; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 222.

304. *Territorial Laws*, III, 921.

sence of settlers along the Saline and Macon rivers. Southwestern settlement is indicated in the creation of Whiteford Township³⁰⁵ in 1834. To the south of Whiteford was Port Lawrence Township, which though not today a part of Monroe County deserves mention because it was a part of it during this period; it contained the future Toledo.³⁰⁶

The position of the Monroe townships formed in 1836-37 indicates the filling in of population in the northern and central parts of the county.³⁰⁷ The same is shown by the census of 1837. The northern^{rem} and southern inland townships, for equal areas, show about an equal population, while the larger figures for Summerfield and Raisinville show the central east and west influence of the river. Viewing the inland townships from north to south the central range in 1837 numbered but a few more people than the western; and all of the inland counties together, about two-thirds of the county, numbered about one-half as many as the shore townships. This showed a strong preference for the lands about the old French centers on the eastern streams. From 1834 to 1837 the population of the whole county increased about 2,000.³⁰⁸

305. *Ibid.*, III, 1276.

306. *Ibid.*, II, 478. Port Lawrence Township covered practically that area in Monroe County which was lost to the Territory by the adjustment in 1837 of the Ohio boundary dispute. See the *Gazette* for August 29, 1817, for the establishment of a village at the head of Miami Bay; also Risdon's map (1825) for the "Bay Settlement."

307. *Session Laws* (1835-36), 69, 79; (1837), 43.

308. Population in 1834, 8,542. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 151; in 1837, 10,646. *Michigan Legislative Manual* (1838), 72.

As a result of having a similar soil, heavy timber and little water power, the interior lands of Wayne County were quite as slow in settling as were those of Monroe. The soil varied from a heavy clay to a sandy loam, the latter being mainly in the south and west. The heavy timber in the western part of the county was broken by few openings, but when cleared, that portion was destined to be unexcelled for cereals.³⁰⁹ For building and manufacture there were in addition to the timber large quantities of limestone, as in Monroe County. The sluggishness of the streams, due to the generally flat surface of Wayne County, deprived it of the good water power found so plentifully in Monroe. The nearest approach to the strong central current of the Raisin was the Rouge, which with its branches gave some power in the part of its course that lay through the undulating portions of the west; excepting at Flat Rock, the Huron does not appear to have induced mill use in this county. The chief impediment to settlement seems to have been the heavy timber. Says the editor of a Detroit newspaper in 1832, reflecting the results of these physiographic conditions for settlement, "It has long been the subject of remark and surprise that whilst the new counties in our Territory are rapidly filling up, the county of Wayne seems to be overlooked. We can conceive of no other reason for this than the fact that the greater portion of this county consists of heavily timbered land and that settlers prefer to go farther for the sake of getting land which can be cleared with less expense."³¹⁰

309. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 244.

310. Detroit *Journal and Michigan Advertiser*, November 7, 1832.

The two decisive advantages which Wayne County had for rapidity of settlement were nearness to Detroit, and the presence, in its northern and central parts, of the two national turnpikes. In 1824, the year before the survey of the Chicago Road was begun, land was purchased in the extreme west of the county in Plymouth Township, in the selection of which some typical motives of settlement appear, the choice being in an opening, on the highest elevation in the county, at the confluence of two streams forming the main branch of the Rouge, not far from the Saginaw Turnpike and near the old Indian trail which was soon to become a national turnpike to Chicago.³¹¹ About this center actual settlement and speculation went hand in hand. It seems that in 1827 the resident and nonresident owners of land in the township were about equal in number. Plymouth Township was organized in that year, and its comparatively small area, suggesting closeness of settlement, seems to confirm the impression that the high land of the region near the water power of the Rouge, together with promising transportation facilities, mainly determined its early selection. The votes polled in 1827 in an election which was likely to bring out the total voting strength of the township were only thirty;³¹² four years later, however, all the land there had passed from the hands of the Government.³¹³ Considerable settlement must have

311. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 470. The difficulty of getting to the place through thick undergrowths and deep quagmires, is told in *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 444.

312. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 509. See the first tax-roll of Plymouth Township. *Ibid.*, II, 581.

313. *Territorial Laws*, II, 479.

taken place in the township to allow of its taking its present area in 1834.³¹⁴ Of equal area, two other townships were organized just eastward from it on the Chicago Road two years after the organization of Plymouth Township,³¹⁵ and from the easternmost of these were formed in 1833 two more,³¹⁶ each equal to the area that Plymouth took in the year following. Immediately southward, and occupying the whole southwestern part of the county, the large township of Huron on the river of that name was not disturbed in its area from the time of its organization (1827) until 1835.³¹⁷

The distribution of population shown by the census of 1837 conveys the same idea as to the motives of settlement. The population was lightest in the southwest and along the shore. The bulk of the inland population was in the six northwestern townships, and of these the population of Plymouth Township was double that of any other; it equalled half of the population of the shore townships exclusive of Detroit. The total inland population of the county was more than four times as large as that of the shore townships exclusive of Detroit; including Detroit, the proportion was about equal. Again, the village centers of the county mentioned by Blois, though small, were all in the northern townships and on either the Saginaw or

314. *Ibid.*, III, 1277.

315. *Ibid.*, II, 737. Cf. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IV, 57, for the first settlers of Nankin Township.

316. *Ibid.*, III, 985.

317. *Territorial Laws*, II, 479; III, 1359. For the organization of townships in 1835-36 see *Ibid.*, III, 1368, and *Session Laws* (1835-36), 80.

the Chicago Road.³¹⁸ From 1834 to 1837 the whole county gained about 7,000 people.³¹⁹

The figures of the censuses of 1820, 1830, 1834 and 1837 afford direct means by which to compare the growth of different parts of the section in white population. If we take Detroit's population in 1820 as a unit, and consider the three areas which are represented by (1) Monroe County, (2) Wayne County exclusive of Detroit and (3) all the country north of Wayne to Saginaw Bay, they ranked from south to north as 6, 7 and 8. Their total white population was 6,303, which was fully ninety per cent of the 7,500 white people in the Lower Peninsula.³²⁰

St. Clair County appeared for the first time in the census of 1830, with a population of 1,114. Detroit's population at that time was about twice as much, and about equalled that of Macomb County; it was about one-half that of Wayne. From this it appears that the rural and village population of Wayne County was considerably larger than the total white population of the two northern counties together. It much exceeded the total population of Monroe County, which was then about 3,000. That is, the people above Wayne in this section about equalled in number those below, and the sum of the population of the two was about that of Wayne County inclusive of Detroit.³²¹ The population of the whole section in 1830 was about a third of that in the whole Territory.

318. *Gazetteer*, 269, 333, 342, 351.

319. Population in 1834, 16,638. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 151; in 1837, 23,400. *Michigan Legislative Manual* (1838), 73.

320. *U. S. Census* (1820), 41.

321. *Ibid.* (1830), 153.

But this statement results in an impression that must be modified somewhat when we consider percentages of gain. From the point of view of gains in percentage, Wayne County inclusive of Detroit ranked lowest, about sixty-one per cent. The counties to the north of Wayne, which were the lowest numerically in proportion to area, showed the largest gain in percentage; their population nearly trebled during the period. Monroe County slightly exceeded Wayne County with a gain of seventy-four per cent.

In the four years following 1830, both numerical and percentage gains very much favored the southern counties. The totals in 1834 were:³²² Wayne, 16,638; Monroe, 8,542; Macomb, 6,055; St. Clair, 2,244. Wayne's quota was about eight times that of St. Clair, nearly three times that of Macomb and twice that of Monroe. It is significant that the numerical proportions of 1830 between Wayne County and the areas above and below it, remained about the same. The total population of the section was considerably more than one-third of the white population of Michigan. The percentages of gain were: Monroe, 168; Wayne, 144; Macomb and St. Clair together, 135. Allowing for difference in areas,³²³ the numerical gain since 1820 was very much in favor of Wayne, the percentage of gain slightly in favor of Monroe, while both were unfavorable to the counties north of Wayne. In these figures the predominant factors were very probably

322. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 151.

323. Wayne, 600 sq. m.; Monroe, 532; Macomb, 458; St. Clair, 935. St. Clair extended at that time northward to Lake Huron and included the "Thumb."

the tendency of Detroit to mass population in its vicinity, the influence of the national turnpikes through Wayne County, and the influence of Monroe's position on Lake Erie directly west of the chief sources of immigration and in line with the much sought lands of the southern tier of counties. With these were combined the relatively side position of Macomb and St. Clair counties and a prejudice due to early misrepresentations.

The amount and distribution of population in 1837 showed some changes since 1834, resulting apparently from the diminished quantity of lands to be had at Government prices near the older centers and a reversal of opinion about lands before neglected through ill report. The totals for each county in 1837 were: Monroe 10,646; Wayne 23,400; Macomb 8,892; St. Clair 6,337.³²⁴ The relative numerical proportions remained about the same as in 1834, excepting at the north, where St. Clair County showed the rapid rate of increase of over 300 per cent. This far exceeded the rate of gain in the other counties, and the numerical gain apparently would not have been exceeded by any if the population of Detroit were not counted. Macomb County exceeded both in numerical and percentage gains those of Monroe County. The combined gains of population in Macomb and St. Clair counties fully equalled those of Wayne and Monroe exclusive of Detroit. These figures show a decided turning of attention northward, of which another phase was the drift of population towards the Flint and Saginaw valleys. In the whole section from Lake Huron to the

324. *Michigan Legislative Manual* (1838) 72, 73.

Ohio boundary there were about 50,000 souls, amounting to two-sevenths of the 175,000 then in Michigan Territory.³²⁵

The main sources of the population of this section have several times been hinted. The common impression that the bulk of it came from New York and New England is undoubtedly correct. There are no census figures to demonstrate this, yet every old pioneer insists upon its truth, and an actual count of birth places given in the county histories and pioneer reminiscences obviously would confirm it. A bit of such data may be given for illustration. Lewis Cass was born in Exeter, New Hampshire.³²⁶ Solomon Sibley, the first American settler in Detroit and its first mayor, was a native of Massachusetts.³²⁷ William Woodbridge, secretary of Michigan Territory after 1815, was born in Norwich, Connecticut.³²⁸ Austin E. Wing and Diodatus Noble, born in Massachusetts, and graduates of Williams College, were early settlers of Monroe.³²⁹ From Pittsfield came Alcott C. Chapman, who at the start was probably Monroe's strongest personal influence.³³⁰ A Connecticut settler of great influence, Jeremiah Lawrence,³³¹ was one of the founders of Monroe. Other Connecticut settlers of prominence were Dr. Harry Conant from Mansfield, attendant physician of Lewis Cass in the expedition of 1820, who

325. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 151.

326. McLaughlin, *Lewis Cass*.

327. Farmer, *History of Detroit*, II, 1032.

328. Mathews, *Expansion of New England*, 231.

329. Wing, *History of Monroe County*, 151.

330. *Ibid.*, 140.

331. *Ibid.*, 140.

was an early settler in Monroe;³³² Thomas Ashley of Windham, the first lawyer admitted to the bar in the Northwest Territory, and who built the first frame house in Mt. Clemens in 1823;³³³ and Judge Bunce of Hartford, well known in the early history of St. Clair County.³³⁴

The biographical sketches of these men show that many of them did not come directly to Michigan from their native towns. They were men in search of the best opportunities, and many of them sojourned in New York or on the Ohio frontier. A good example of these places of temporary residence in Ohio is Marietta,³³⁵ whence came many of Detroit's most prominent early settlers. The great number of settlers "from New York State" would be much reduced if those were subtracted who were born in New England. But there were very many prominent Michigan settlers of New York birth; typical of these was Edward D. Ellis, born in Niles, editor of the first newspaper published in Michigan south of Detroit (1825), at Monroe,³³⁶ and Aura P. Stewart, born in Canandaigua, a prominent promoter of settlement in St. Clair County.³³⁷

Other eastern states, particularly Pennsylvania and New Jersey, contributed a fair share of the early settlers. The foreign born, aside from those coming from

332. *Ibid.*, 160.

333. *History of Macomb County* (1882), 239; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VI, 358.

334. *History of St. Clair County* (1883), 265.

335. Campbell, *Outlines*, 217.

336. Wing, *History of Monroe County*, 136, 491.

337. *History of St. Clair County* (1883), 272.

Canada, made a small proportion of the total population. A considerable Scotch settlement formed in the early thirties in northwestern Macomb County in Bruce Township.³³⁸ In 1834 a colony of Germans settled on the Clinton River in Macomb County about five miles southwest of Mt. Clemens,³³⁹ and by the end of the period Germans were coming to Wayne and Monroe counties.³⁴⁰

338. *History of Macomb County* (1882), 622, 742.

339. *Ibid.*, 569.

340. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXVI, 255.

CHAPTER IV

THE FIRST INLAND COUNTIES

IT might be expected that because of the position of the first inland counties that they, next after the shore counties, would be affected by the rising tide of immigration from the eastern states. As a matter of fact the earliest settlers reached this area quite as early as the first important accession of Americans came to the counties along the shore. The misleading reports of the early surveyors created a strong prejudice against its lands, but this misinformation insured that they would escape at least being apportioned as military bounty lands, which would leave them open to settlers after the completion of the Government survey and the opening of public sales.

The first settlements in this section were made between the years 1817 and 1826. This was the beginning of activity in the settling of Michigan Territory, a period extending from the beginning of the public land sales to the opening of important traffic on the Erie Canal, on Lake Erie and on the Chicago Road. Detroit had become a city of over two thousand people by this time, and inland settlement was just getting a foothold in the rear of the earlier settlements along the shore. The openness of the new inland counties and the central position of the Chicago Road, which passed through their territory, made

migration in that direction easy. Moreover, rich soil, good water power, and abundant timber, gave these counties an opportunity to intercept immigration bound toward the southwestern counties. There was promise that this section might soon overtake the older one in population and development.

The first county of the section which received permanent settlers was Oakland. Excepting the French communities on the shore and the few Americans at Detroit, this Oakland settlement was as early as any, antedating by some years any important beginning eastward in the interior of Macomb, despite the fact that the first settlers of Oakland came thither across it. Pontiac was founded about the same time eastern settlers began the active settlement of Monroe and Mt. Clemens. Beginnings were made at Rochester in 1817, at Pontiac in 1818, at Ypsilanti, Ann Arbor and Tecumseh in 1824, and at Adrian in 1826. In these dates of first settlement in the section, three features are of special interest: their order of precedence from north to south; the fact that those in the north antedate considerably those in the south; and that all are fully as early as the dates of inland settlements in the shore section.

This order of settlement can hardly find a sufficient explanation in differences of environment. The advantages of water power, timber, soil, and natural beauty, were quite evenly distributed. The presence of water power so uniformly throughout the section was due in part to the fact that the three principal streams and their branches which formed a network of waterways, had common influences bearing upon

their rate of descent and upon the amount, regulation, and position of the water supply. In the western part of the section, roughly paralleling the eastern shore, lay a common watershed, which began its arc-like course just westward of Lenawee in Hillsdale County and extended northeastward through Washtenaw and Oakland. As a consequence the principal streams ran approximately eastward, and offered access to their mill sites either by small boats or by the Indian trails which led along their banks. The power of these streams—the Clinton, the Huron and the Raisin—received its head principally in the four large elevations of the watershed. The elevation in Oakland County, at the source of the Clinton, reached a height of over five hundred feet, and the inclination of the surface, dropping over three hundred feet to the eastern border of the county, gave the Clinton a fairly rapid rate of descent.¹ The Huron had an inclination which tended to give a similar rate. Its head was partly in the Oakland peak but mainly in that on the borders of Washtenaw and Jackson counties; and though the latter was about a hundred feet lower, this was compensated by the fact that the eastern border of Washtenaw at the point where the Huron crossed was about a hundred feet lower than Oakland County at the crossing of the Clinton.² The current of the Raisin

1. Tackabury, *Atlas*, 10-11; see also contour map opposite p. 10 in Tackabury, and the plate "Topography" in the *Ann Arbor Folio*. The *Gazette*, May 23, 1826, speaks editorially of the water power in the eastern part of Oakland County as more ample than in any other part of the Territory.

2. Tackabury, *Atlas*, contour map opposite p. 10.

was more rapid than either, and its long sinuous course cutting between high banks gave many excellent mill sites. It took its head from the southern peak, which exceeded the height of that in Oakland County by a hundred feet, and allowed a drop of five hundred feet to that portion of the Raisin which was within this section.

The volume of water in these streams was large, constant, and little subject to variation through seasonal changes; therefore the pioneer mill could operate throughout the year without serious intermission from droughts. These features were partly due to the great number of small lakes at the headwaters of the streams, which acted as natural reservoirs. There were some four hundred lakes in Oakland County of a considerable size, covering a total surface of six hundred acres.³ There were not so many in Washtenaw,⁴ and there were comparatively few in Lenawee; but they were plentiful west of Lenawee and Washtenaw in eastern Hillsdale and Jackson counties, affecting the water supply of the Raisin and the Huron. The position and distribution of these lakes suggest their origin and their relation to the drainage of the section. They filled depressions in the glacial drift along the crest of the watershed, and their number was apparently greatest in proportion to the irregularity of the surface. They received and conserved the rainfall both directly and through sources of supply from under ground. Springs were very common in the

3. *History of Oakland County* (1876), 117.

4. *History of Washtenaw County* (1881), 146; plate "Topography" in the *Ann Arbor Folio*.

section owing to the loose texture of the soil, and many of these reservoirs were "spring lakes."⁵ Another cause which increased and regulated the supply of power in the parts of these streams which lay in this section, was the fact that so many of the tributaries were received near their headwaters, owing to which, as well as because of the lakelets, there was exercised so constant a control that the dry season had little effect upon the power of the main streams.

Abundant and excellent timber awaited the settler in all parts of these counties. They afforded a great variety of oak, beech, maple, elm, black-walnut and whitewood. Quantities of pine grew on the better sandy land, a soil which was fairly common in the lake region of Oakland County. Pioneers speak of the "Big Pinery" in Orion Township,⁶ and the presence of pine elsewhere in the county is frequently mentioned in reminiscences. Variations in density of forest were due partly to differences of soil and partly to the fires which the Indians had been wont to set annually; the Indian name meaning "burnt district" for the region about the Huron is said to be a reminiscence of this custom.⁷ Heavily timbered land could be found in all the counties, but usually only in patches, which alter-

5. *The Ann Arbor Folio*, 14.

6. *History of Oakland County* (1876), 255; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 568. It is said that the best pine land in the county was first visited in the winter of 1820-21 by settlers near Silver Lake. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IX, 167-168.

7. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IV, 394. Firing and girdling were the means used by the Indians to clear the forest for agriculture and pursuit of game. Hoffman describes a similar practice of the white settlers. *A Winter in the West*, I, 175.

nated with "openings," plains, and small prairies, sometimes all to be found within the area of a single Government township.⁸ A chief characteristic of the section was its "oak-openings;" the name of Oakland for the northern county commemorates the forests of these trees.⁹ The "openings" often covered wide stretches of land which were comparatively free from underbrush and in which the trees were far enough apart to permit an oxteam to go miles in any direction.¹⁰ These lands, tree-covered yet comparatively open, were specially prized by the pioneer. The trees were taken to indicate a fertile soil, and the openness insured cultivation and transportation with comparative ease. This, in part, explains the position of the line of settlements which were early made just westward of the margin of the heavily timbered clay soil of the shore area.

Whether or not it is a mere coincidence that the order of these first settlements in this section follows the order of the density of timber, it is certain that Oakland and Lenawee counties originally presented in this particular the widest contrast in the section. Lenawee contained in its eastern and southern parts the only considerable, continuous, heavy timber of the section,¹¹ and there settlement began latest. These first

8. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 228, 234, 243; *Combination Atlas Map of Lenawee County*, 15; *Historical and Biographical Record of Lenawee County*, 15, 54.

9. A very pleasing description of the oak openings and lakes of Oakland County is given by a contemporary in the *Gazette* for September 1, 1820.

10. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 225.

11. Lanman, *Michigan*, 285; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 225.

settlements in the section were primarily farming communities; the food supply was the most pressing need. Timber more than enough for building and fencing appears to have been looked upon as an encumbrance, or at least as a secondary advantage. Pontiac, Tecumseh and Adrian had the character of "lumbering towns," in whose settlement lumbering in the modern sense appears to have been one of the underlying motives. It was a great advantage to have lumber cut near at hand, for it was expensive and difficult to import, and it was seen that with the growth of the settlement the demand for building-material would increase. The desire to have a gristmill was quite as strong a motive in the choice of power sites for first settlement. The alternative to having such a convenience was to pound the grain on a block, grind it in a hand mill, or make a journey of several days to a distant mill, perhaps only to find the miller sick or absent, or the mill out of repair. Though the relatively greater density of the forest in Lenawee County undoubtedly affected the rate and direction of the extension of the frontier as well as the areal growth in population, it probably did not materially affect the founding of Tecumseh and Adrian.

Like the timber, the soil in this section was of good quality throughout, and of great variety. There are six different kinds of soil formation, and very suggestive are their positions.^{11a} Their general position, in long belts approximately parallel with the watershed and with the eastern shore, suggests that they were deposited in succession under the retreating waters of

11a. Michigan Geological Survey, *Map*, 1907.

an ancient lake, which determined that the bottoms of the main streams of the drainage system should cross them nearly at right angles. It also gave them those common features which tended toward uniformity in the power of the currents. We have seen that the settler encountered along the whole of the shore section a dense forest of which the soil determinant was the stiff lake clay, and this clay formation extended over into these counties; it made the soil of nearly the entire southeastern half of Lenawee, of the larger part of Washtenaw southward from Ypsilanti and east of Saline, and of a large portion of southeastern Oakland.

The extensive burr-oak plains which stretched along the eastern slope of the watershed had for a soil determinant a very good quality of sandy land. This soil formed a large area through the lake region, and was a characteristic soil of Oakland County; it was one of the chief conditions of its pine forests. Southward from Oakland County the bulk of the sandy land lay west of this section, covering only the western part of Washtenaw, and in Lenawee County the northwestern townships.

Between these two border areas there lay through the heart of the section three soil belts, very irregular in shape yet approximately parallel, which contained the most fertile land in these counties. In the background, as it were, of wider extent than the two other soils and displacing them in large irregular patches, was a loose-textured drift covered with oak openings. On the east of this there was a rolling clay drift which bore mainly beech, maple and oak and at the west lay a

level clay area densely forested with beech and maple.

The general position of these soils and their mutual relations, favored some variety in their distribution. There was in each county some soil of each variety, but the counties varied in the proportions of a particular soil. Of the level clay soil, for example, there was as much in Lenawee County as in the two other counties together. The two heavy clay soils predominated in this portion,¹² with their heavy forests and the accompanying unfavorable effect upon initial settlement. The soils of Washtenaw were distributed in fairly equal proportions, and the land was fairly open except in the extreme eastern part. In Oakland the predominant soils were a loose-textured drift and the better class of sandy land, making this northern end of the section very open and attractive to the settler, promising immediate returns for his efforts. The relative openness of the country appears to have depended in some measure upon the nature and distribution of its soils, and it was the openness of the land rather than its quality that appears to have been the stronger motive in inducing the initial settlements. There is small evidence that when even the later settler chose his farm he consulted the particular constituents of the soil. Instead, he judged from the general indications

12. Mich. Geol. Survey, *Report*. 1907, map in pocket; Blois, *Gazetteer*, 228, 234, 243; *Combination Atlas Map of Lenawee County*, 12, 15, 16; *Hist. and Biog. Record of Lenawee County*, 11, 15, 54, 56; *Ann Arbor Folio*; p. 1, and plate "Areal Geology;" *History of Washtenaw County* (1881), 141-146.

of its fertility,¹³ satisfied if in addition it were easy to clear and to cultivate. Much less, apparently, did the finer differences determine the order of the founding of the first settlements. They were all in the "openings"; but whereas Pontiac, Ann Arbor and Adrian were founded on different soils, the first settlements made respectively in the three counties—Rochester, Ypsilanti and Tecumseh—were settled on the same quality of soil,¹⁴ at points furnishing good water power and near plenty of timber. The reason why the site at the north should have been chosen nine years before that at the south, must be sought elsewhere.

Aesthetic motives probably weighed less with the practical Yankee than economic motives; yet other things equal, his choice of a location would undoubtedly tend to be influenced by that sense for natural beauty which was bred into him by his native hills. He would welcome a spot that should remind him of his old home. It may be recalled that there was in the air at this period a romantic sentimentalism about nature, which preceded and accompanied the rise of natural religion; something of the presence of this was felt by travelers. DeToqueville, who visited the northern part of this section in 1833, wrote in a vein in which this spirit seems to be reflected; he says:

"After we left Mr. Williams, we pursued our road through the woods. From time to time a little lake (this district is full of them) shines like a white tablecloth under the green branches. The charm of these

13. See, for example, the long neglect of the fertile plains in Oxford Township, Oakland County. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 568.

14. According to the Geological Survey map (1907).

lovely spots, as yet untenanted by man, and where peace and silence remain undisturbed, can hardly be imagined. I have climbed the wild and solitary passes of the Alps, where nature refuses to obey the hand of man, and displaying all her terrors, fills the mind with an exciting and overwhelming sensation of greatness. The solitude here is equally deep, but the emotions it excites are different. In this flowery wilderness, where, as in Milton's Paradise, all seems prepared for the reception of man, the feelings produced are tranquil admiration, a soft melancholy, a vague aversion to civilized life, and a sort of savage instinct, which cause you to regret that soon this enchanting solitude will be no more."¹⁵

Great natural beauty characterized the whole section, but the surface configuration, the distribution of lakes and streams, and the relative density of the forest, caused some degree of difference. Where there was the least variety in soil and surface, there was the least variety in general. At the south the clay formation of southern and eastern Lenawee was comparatively flat and accompanied by the monotony of heavy forest. In the northern part of the county where it was rolling and in places hilly there were small lakes and forest openings; it was this part, in the vicinity of the lakes along the Chicago Road, that first received the attention of settlers after the founding of Tecumseh and Adrian.¹⁶ The choice of Tecumseh for a settle-

15. De Tocqueville, in *A Fortnight in the Wilderness*, as quoted in *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 39.

16. Taekabury, *Atlas*, 114; *Historical and Biographical Record of Lenawee County*, II, 11, 15, 18; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VIII, 198.

ment is said to have been owing partly to the beauty of the environment.¹⁷ Blois speaks of the "high and beautiful banks" of the Raisin.¹⁸ The tradition that Washtenaw County bears in its name¹⁹ an Indian memorial of the pristine beauty of its landscape may have little truth; but Blois records that its pleasantly alternating prairies, oak openings, and heavily timbered lands, presented to the settler "a very beautiful and picturesque aspect." Of the openness of the country and its pleasing contrast with the lands farther east, the traveler Hoffman writes in 1833:

"They build almost altogether in the oak-openings; and as the country is now undulating, I have seen some cabins very prettily situated in clumps of oaks, a gunshot from the road, with fields of young wheat extending in every direction around them. . . . I have now got among the rolling land in a region full of lakes and oak-openings, of which I had hitherto had only a taste. I need hardly say how much more grateful such a country is to my eye than the level thickly timbered lands about Detroit and Monroe."²⁰

17. Millard, *Early History of Lenawee County*, 7; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 479.

18. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 349.

19. *History of Washtenaw County* (1881), 120; Beakes, *Past and Present of Washtenaw County* (Chicago, 1906), 582-583; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IV, 393-394; XXXVIII, 453. The name was given by the Indians to the whole region west of Wayne County, and was given to the county as the first to be organized from it.

20. Hoffman, *A Winter in the West*, I, 156. Hoffman had come from Detroit via Monroe and Tecumseh. See also a contemporary description (1829) by a traveler from Upper Canada, as quoted in Beakes, *Past and Present of Washtenaw County*, 537; and Lansing Swan's *Journal* (1841), 18-19.

The irregularity of the surface was greatest in Oakland County, where the numerous elevations gave fine prospects over a wide area of lake country. A pioneer explorer of the region wrote in his diary in 1822:

"We also saw several of the celebrated lakes spoken of by former exploring parties into the interior. One of these, immediately in the rear of Mr. Williams' house, is in the highest degree romantic and beautiful.

. . . Before supper, at the instance of Judge Sprague, we ascended a conical elevation of land very precipitous and lofty, from the summit of which, for many miles in circumference, we were presented with a view of a most picturesque and beautifully diversified country. Lakes, valleys, uplands and groves of pine and other timbers here met the eye to an extent that occasioned an equal degree of surprise and pleasure."²¹

A peak near Pontiac, called by the settlers "Bald Mountain," rose to the height of some hundred feet above the surrounding country, and the beauty of the view from its summit is mentioned by many pioneers.²² One of them, describing the trip of the first exploring party into the region, speaks of the "shouts of joy which again and again burst from their lips as they looked upon the lovely landscapes."²³ This great beauty very probably stimulated the desire of these early visitors to make the county their home; yet it is doubtful whether the superior beauty of Oakland County would have weighed against the practical advantages of either of the other two if the latter had been the first to come to their notice.

21. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 471.

22. *History of Oakland County* (1876), 117.

23. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 565.

At Detroit there had been knowledge of the central part of this section at least as early as 1809, when French traders established a post near the site of Ypsilanti.²⁴ But the early knowledge that these men had they probably took pains not to share with intending agricultural settlers, who would have interfered with their trading operations by dispersing the Indians, clearing the forests, and driving away the fur-bearing animals. It is said that these traders helped to create the tradition that the interior was worthless for agriculture, yet the first settlement in the section was made not there, but in that part which had the greatest ill repute, and it was made very soon after that reputation had been reasserted by the false reports of the first surveyors.

It will be observed that the order of precedence in the dates of the first settlements, is that of their direct distance from the shore and from Detroit. Detroit was even at this early date the permanent home of business men who, as soon as the public land sales opened there, were on the lookout for good opportunities. Moreover, the asset which they naturally agreed upon as having the greatest value for a new center of settlement was nearness to Detroit. These two factors, nearness to the shore and to Detroit, helped to determine the order of progress in the new United States survey, and were consequently decisive influences in

24. *Ann Arbor Folio*, 1; *History of Washtenaw County* (1881), 1108. The boundaries of the "four French claims, patented to them by authority of Congress in 1811, may still be seen in place of section lines on the map of the county at that point. See also Risdon's map (1825); *Ann Arbor Folio*, plate "Topography;" and Beakes, *Past and Present of Washtenaw County*, 540-542.

securing priority of settlement for Oakland. The immediate cause of the first settlement in Oakland County was an unofficial report to friends made by Benjamin Graham, an assistant surveyor who was working in the eastern part of that county in 1816, which led to the sending forth of an exploring party that year;²⁵ in the following March three families from Mt. Clemens, one of them that of Mr. Graham's father, settled at the site of Rochester in the township of Avon.²⁶ The second impulse to settlement issued directly from Detroit; it seems to have been independent of the Avon colony, though news from there, as well as reports directly from the national surveyors, could have reached Detroit easily. It is apparent that the new interest at Detroit was stimulated by the opening of the newly surveyed lands of the county to public sale. As in the case of the Avon colony, settlement was preceded by an investigation. A small party setting out from Detroit in the autumn of 1818 followed the Saginaw Trail well beyond the site of Pontiac, as far as the vicinity of Waterford. The reports they made are said to have been so encouraging as to have "electified the hearts of the Americans at Detroit, and to have utterly astounded the Frenchmen."²⁷ A second party in the same autumn, accompanied by women, went as far as Little Springs in Springfield Township.²⁸ The sum of these investiga-

25. *History of Oakland County* (1876), 26.

26. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 569; VII, 561; XXII, 405; XXXI, 152.

27. *Ibid.*, III, 565.

28. *Ibid.*, III, 566.

tions formed the basis upon which was organized in November, 1818, the Pontiac Company, a speculative venture directed mainly by Detroit people who proposed to acquire lands on the Clinton and to foster a village as a means of exploiting them,²⁹ and Pontiac was founded.³⁰

The United States surveyors proceeded southward and were making reports on Washtenaw and Lenawee counties in 1819. In that year the Saginaw Indian treaty led the French traders to abandon their post at the site of Ypsilanti, and wishing to increase the value of the lands granted to them by the Government in 1811, they now had a motive for making the advantages of the section known.³¹ Attention was also strongly directed to the southern part of the section by Governor Cass's expedition,³² members of which, including Governor Cass, passed through there over the Chicago Trail in 1820. This expedition, under the auspices of the National Government, had for one of its special objects the gaining of information about the interior of Michigan for the purpose of advancing its settlement. Its results were published officially, and Governor Cass made a special effort to distribute the reports widely; as governor of the Territory, he had for one of his main interests in the expedition the refutation of ill reports about the interior, in order to

29. *Ibid.*, III, 560; *History of Oakland County* (1876), 68.

30. See Ross and Catlin, *Landmarks of Detroit*, 356-358, for a characteristic "celebration" at the site of Pontiac on the occasion of the founding of the village.

31. The "north claim" was bought in 1824 by a New York settler and became the site of Ypsilanti village.

32. McLaughlin, *Lewis Cass*, 119.

encourage immigration. It is apparently impossible now to single out the direct effects upon settlement from these reports, but soon afterward, in 1822, two purchases of land were made near the site of Ypsilanti amounting to about two hundred acres. One of these parcels was bought, apparently for speculation, by Judge Woodward, of Detroit³³, who undoubtedly became well acquainted with the results of the expedition through Governor Cass. Fifteen purchases by Detroit parties are said to have been made in 1823 near Ypsilanti and in Superior and Ann Arbor townships; these were also apparently for speculative purposes, in anticipation of the Chicago Road which was then being talked about.

The first reports that are known directly to have induced settlement in Washtenaw County came in 1823 from Monroe fishermen whose operations extended up the Huron River as far as the French claims.³⁴ These men, leading thither a party of former Ohio neighbors who had come to Michigan by way of Monroe village in search of good farms, settled with them on the banks of the Huron near a grove about a mile southeast of the present site of Ypsilanti, and in honor of a leading member of the group, Benjamin Woodruff, the settlement was named "Woodruff's Grove." These were the first permanent settlers in the county. It was to their interest to make immediate connections with Detroit, and the colony received a slight accession from there the first year. The constant interchange of in-

33. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IV, 401; Beakes, *Past and Present of Washtenaw County*. 545.

34. *History of Washtenaw County* (1881), 1099.

formation at the chief port of the Territory, where men came together from all parts and at a time when land-looking was becoming a principal interest, tended to make all that was known about the interior a common possession. There may well have been direct relation between this settlement and the one made in the following year at Ypsilanti, and as well between these and that at Ann Arbor nine miles further up the river; the first settlers of Ann Arbor, John Allen and Elisha W. Rumsey, are said to have met by chance in Detroit and to have come together into the county with their families.

In 1823 Austin E. Wing, a prominent citizen of Monroe, directed the attention of an intending settler to the lands on the upper portion of the Raisin River, with the result that an exploring expedition was made the same year, and a settlement in 1824.³⁵ It is significant that this impulse was about contemporary with the establishment of the Monroe Land Office, for the purpose of selling the southern lands opened by the Indian treaties of Saginaw and Chicago. Wing had been a member of the Pontiac Company in 1818,³⁶ and one of the early promoters of Monroe village.³⁷ He now became a member of a partnership whose aim was to found a village at the site of Tecumseh. The other partners were two New York settlers, Musgrove Evans and Joseph Brown, brothers-in-law; the former, who came to Michigan in 1823 and met Wing in Detroit, acted upon his advice, ex-

35. *Historical and Biographical Record of Lenawee County*, I, 40.

36. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 560.

37. *Michigan Biographies*, 704.

plored the northern part of Lenawee County, and chose the site of Tecumseh for a settlement.³⁸ Apparently independent of this colony, except in so far as the colony may have attracted attention to the region, a settlement was made two years later at the site of Adrian.³⁹

To cast a glance back over the preceding pages: there appear as the essential factors in the priority of Oakland County's settlement (1) its nearness to Detroit and consequent priority in the survey of its lands, (2) the personal influence and interest of one of the surveyors of that county, (3) the opening of the public lands to sale at Detroit, leading to explorations into the country nearest to the city, (4) the superior natural advantages of the county in openings, water power, timber, variety of soil, and beauty of scenery, which enabled the county to hold attention, and (5) the enterprise of Detroit men who were willing to risk money to make a beginning so near to that city. Farther south, the granting of the French claims at Ypsilanti probably drew some notice, and Cass's expedition emphasized the advantages of that part of the section, giving strength to the agitation for a military road through it to connect the forts at Detroit and Chicago. A new impulse was given to this agitation by the progress of work on the Erie Canal. Settlement was precipitated by the direct influence of the Huron River fishermen and of Evans' exploration on the upper Raisin. It is significant that the dates of first settlement in the upper and lower parts of the section cor-

38. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 225, 226.

39. *Ibid.*, I, 229.

respond approximately with those of the opening of land offices at Detroit and Monroe.⁴⁰ Apparently the causes of delay in settling the lower part of the section were principally (1) its relative distance from Detroit and from the shore, making it harder to reach and further from a base of supplies, (2) the absorption of interest in the lands of Oakland, whose settlement was promoted by a strong commercial company back of its main nucleus of settlement at Pontiac, and (3) the availability of open land in the older section, especially in Macomb County, and of river lands in Monroe, Wayne and St. Clair.

A serious check to the settlement of this section was the difficulty attending the transportation of both persons and goods. The natural avenues of approach were by river and trail. At the north was the Clinton River and the Saginaw Trail, at the south the Huron River and the trails leading from Detroit and Monroe. The most direct route from Detroit to Oakland County was the trail leading northwest into the Saginaw country, but in the wet season the long marsh which crossed it near Detroit offered a serious barrier. One settler writes of his experience in the spring of 1818,⁴¹ that he started for Pontiac (from Detroit) with a number of men employed by the company, three oxen, a cart, and one woman as passenger, and that he had to cross a swamp about six miles wide which was like a sea of mud, where the team got stuck and the woman was obliged to wade out. Until about 1830 this route is said to have been almost impassable

40. *Ibid.*, II, 367.

41. *Ibid.*, VI, 385.

between Detroit and Royal Oak in the wet season, excepting by oxsleds and similar conveyances.⁴² Before it was improved, many Pontiac settlers preferred the trail along the banks of the Clinton to Mt. Clemens; and in the first days of Pontiac, goods and even shingles for the mill were brought by that route on pack horses.⁴³ The founders of the Avon colony came to the county by the same route,⁴⁴ and if one may judge from the fact that they settled just below the first rapids in the river,⁴⁵ the possibility of navigating the river at least by small craft was in their minds, as well as the desire for water power. Later settlers had better roads. The Government began early the construction of a military turnpike over the Saginaw Trail between Detroit and Pontiac.⁴⁶ The impulse from immigration after 1830 caused several new roads to be projected the location of which helps to explain the relationships of the new settlements one with another and with neighboring counties.⁴⁷ Agitation for a rail-

42. *Ibid.*, I, 380, 381; XXII, 407; *History of Oakland County* (1876), 132, 166.

43. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 380; XXII, 407. See an editorial in the *Detroit Gazette* for May 23, 1826, for the good condition of this route.

44. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 569; *History of Oakland County* (1876), 26, 130.

45. In 1827 The Clinton River Navigation Company was incorporated, which partly succeeded in making the river navigable from Mt. Clemens to Rochester; but its operations were soon abandoned, apparently proving unprofitable. *History of Oakland County* (1876), 33.

46. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 280; III, 568; *History of Oakland County*, 23. A stage line is said to have been begun between Detroit and Pontiac as early as 1826. *Detroit Gazette*, April 4, 1826.

47. *History of Oakland County*, 25; *The Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser*, May 18, 1831.

road from Pontiac to Detroit which began about 1830 culminated in active beginnings in 1834.⁴⁸

The way into Washtenaw County was by two trails, and the Huron River; the first settlers took the Indian trail from Flat Rock, along that stream.⁴⁹ At that time the river appears to have been of sufficient depth to permit of poling large flat-boats up to within four miles of the site of Ypsilanti, and this means of transporting goods, though slow, appears to have been much used even by later settlers.⁵⁰ The Chicago Trail was not more expeditious; in 1823 it is said to have taken four days for an ox team to cut its way through by that route from Detroit to Woodruff's Grove,⁵¹ and an equal time was taken by a family traversing the same in 1826.⁵² The *Detroit Gazette* of May 9, 1826, advertises a "Stage to Washtenaw—A stage will run hereafter (or walk, if the roads are bad) between this place and Ann Arbor. . . . It leaves Detroit *three times a week*." The military road was surveyed in 1825, but actual work on it was slow until after 1830.⁵³ In 1830 a team of horses with a family and load of goods could make the trip from Detroit to Ann Arbor in three days,⁵⁴ and at the close of this period the road is said to

48. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXII, 407; *History of Oakland County* (1881), 33; *Territorial Laws*, III, 844, 1287. The railroad did not reach Pontiac until 1844. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IX, 273.

49. *Ibid.*, IV, 399.

50. *Ibid.*, I, 334; IV, 403; XXXVIII, 365; *History of Washtenaw County* (1881), 1114. The *Detroit Gazette* for May 30, 1826, mentions "two or three fine boats" plying between Detroit, Woodruff's Grove and Ann Arbor.

51. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IV, 404.

52. *History of Oakland County* (1876), 222.

53. *History of Washtenaw County* (1881), 125.

54. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXVI, 250.

have been a continuous causeway over mud until within a few miles of Ypsilanti.⁵⁵ The need for river transportation to supplement the Chicago Road is reflected in the action of Ypsilanti citizens, who in 1833 built by subscription a large pole-boat at a cost of about \$1,300;⁵⁶ and it is apparently this boat the arrival of which at Detroit is noted by the *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser* of May 21, 1834, and which carried one hundred and twenty-five pounds of flour for thirty-eight cents per barrel, while the usual price by land was from sixty-three to seventy-five cents.⁵⁷ Still earlier, in the *Detroit Gazette* for April 25, 1826, is mentioned the boat of Colonel Allen, of Ann Arbor, just arrived at Detroit, apparently a flat-bottomed boat built on the plan of the James River boats in Virginia, of which State Allen was a native; the boat carried one hundred barrels of flour. The Territorial Road, authorized in 1829 and surveyed in 1830, indicates a demand for a more direct route into the counties lying directly west of Washtenaw, and appears to have been due in part to the purpose of land owners in those counties to compete for immigration with the southern tier of counties.⁵⁸

The early settler who wished to get to Lenawee County could choose, besides the Chicago Trail from Detroit, either of two others which led from the vicinity of Monroe. The main trail from Monroe branched

55. *Ibid.*, XXII, 529.

56. *History of Washtenaw County* (1881), 125-126; Beakes, *Past and Present of Washtenaw County*, 595.

57. See also the *Detroit Courier* for March 6, 1833.

58. Beakes, *Past and Present of Washtenaw County*, 597-598; *History of Washtenaw County* (1881), 125-126.

at the Macon reservation, the southern branch following the Raisin past Adrian to near Tecumseh, the northern the Macon River.⁵⁹ If the point of departure were Monroe, the earliest settlers would take one or the other of these two routes;⁶¹ settlers who left from Detroit went either by way of Monroe along these trails or by the Chicago Trail.⁶¹ The time required varied with circumstances. In 1824 the party which founded Tecumseh required a week to make their way through from Monroe;⁶² in 1834 a settler walked in twenty-four hours from Adrian to Monroe, a distance of thirty miles.⁶³ There was a slight improvement made in the southern route about 1827 by cutting a road through from Blissfield to Petersborough.⁶⁴ The northern trail was the line, approximately, over which the La Plaisance Bay Road was surveyed in 1832. The position of the Chicago Road through Lenawee County is reflected in a description (1834) by a pioneer, who represents it as "stretching itself by devious and irregular windings east and west like a huge serpent lazily pursuing its onward course, utterly unconcerned

59. Bureau of American Ethnology, *18th Annual Report*, plate CXXXVIII.

60. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XII, 407; *Historical and Biographical Record of Lenawee County*, I, 63, 64; II, 9, 24; Hogaboam, *The Bean Creek Valley*, 13.

61. *Historical and Biographical Record of Lenawee County*, I, 40; II, 31; Wing, *History of Monroe County*, 149. Both the Risdon map (1825) and the Farmer map (1826) show a road running from the Chicago Road from a point a little west of Ypsilanti to Tecumseh.

62. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XII, 407.

63. *Ibid.*, XVII, 512. However, it does not appear that these trips were made by the same trails.

64. *Combination Atlas Map of Lenawee County*, 15.

as to its destination.”⁶⁵ Active preparations for the construction of a railroad from Adrian to Port Lawrence (Toledo) began in 1833.⁶⁶

The interrelations of transportation improvement with the general physical influences of settlement in this section are illustrated by the manner in which the frontier was extended. In determining the location of the first settlements, which were to be points of departure for settlement in each county, no causes were more influential than the relative position of river and trail. The general directions in which settlement spread out from these centers, and the rate of its movement, varied somewhat in different parts of the section, but in general the movement of the frontier was westward, with a northwest and southwest trend respectively at the two extremities. Although settlement received an earlier start at the north, the rate of frontier extension was more rapid at the south, partly because it began about the time of the rapid increase of immigration to the Territory as a whole. In all of the counties the frontier reached the western boundary of the section at about the same time, and at those points which were most easily reached—near the great western trails.⁶⁷

Southwest was the direction in which the frontier extended the most rapidly in Oakland up to the time when the first settlements were made in Washtenaw and Lenawee. By 1825 all of the townships in the

65. *Historical and Biographical Record of Lenawee County*, II, 21.

66. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 231.

67. *History of Oakland County* (1876), 106, 193; *History of Washtenaw County* (1881), 752, 1296; *Hist. and Biog. Rec. of Lenawee County*, II, 9, 22, 39.

two southern tiers in Oakland, excepting the westernmost, had received their first settlers.⁶⁸ A few settlements had by that time been made in Waterford Township west of Pontiac, and a few north of the Clinton River in the eastern part of the county; also land had been purchased in all of the townships east of a northeast-to-southwest⁶⁹ diagonal line drawn through the center of the county, comprising fifteen of its thirty-six surveyed townships. For five years following 1825 there was a pause in the extension of the frontier. In this interval land had been purchased in all of the remaining townships except Brandon in the extreme north and Highland and Rose in the extreme west. The time which elapsed between the dates of first purchase and first settlement in the north-central and northeastern townships varied from four to eight years; but it was shorter in the northwest, where though the buying began from three to seven years later, the first settlements followed the first purchases within a year. In the southern tier of townships settlement generally began within two years after the first purchase, and in the central townships within a year. By 1830 only seven townships had not yet received their first settlers, all in the extreme north and west except White Lake;⁷⁰ Brandon and Rose had no settlers until 1835.⁷¹

The dominating influence which checked the extension of the frontier, especially in the period before

68. *History of Oakland County* (1876), 106, 158, 166, 221, 231, 237, 267, 285, 312, 320.

69. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 565-570.

70. *History of Oakland County* (1876), 105, 106, 124, 153, 175, 183, 193, 201, 221, 243, 261, 250, 275.

71. *Ibid.*, 243, 261.

1830, was desire to be near the older settlements. The townships first settled were those bordering on the townships of Pontiac and Avon, and the first settlements made above the Clinton were in the very southern parts, near Pontiac and Rochester, and made from six to nine years afterward.⁷² Though Waterford, which was just west of Pontiac, was first settled in 1819 the townships adjoining it north and west had no settlers for a decade.⁷³ The position of the first land purchases reflect the same desire. In the south and southwest the settlements came apparently from the same impulse which brought immigration to the interior and northern parts of Wayne County upon which they bordered; but the impulse seems to have spent itself in the filling-in process before settlers reached the extreme southwest. There seem to have been no unfavorable physical contrasts between the southwestern townships and their eastern neighbors sufficient to warrant the difference of from five to seven years in the dates of settlement;⁷⁴ the contrasts of environment were greater in the townships north and west of Waterford.⁷⁵ In White Lake Township directly west of Waterford there was little water power, and much swamp and inferior soil. The availability of land near the older settlements, appears sufficient reason for the pause in the extension of the frontier from 1825 to 1830.

The strength of the impulse of 1830 extended settlement during that and the following year into the farthest corners of the county. Speculation had an

72. *Ibid.*, 70, 130.

73. *Ibid.*, 105, 175, 183.

74. *Ibid.*, 158, 214, 221, 230.

75. *Ibid.*, 183, 207, 274, 299.

important function in helping to determine its rate and direction, tending to hasten its extension by making less available at Government prices the land near the older settlements. Speculation called the attention of intending settlers to places where speculators were taking up new land. It has been noted that the buying of land was usually much in advance of settlement, and the degree of discrepancy in time may in general be taken as a fair index to the amount of speculation. Judging by this rule, speculators preferred the northeastern part of the county to the northwestern, apparently because nearer to the older settlements, but settlement reached both of the northern corners of Oakland County at about the same time. An aid to the extension of settlement to the northwest was the Saginaw Trail, over which the Government was building a road in the early thirties. The *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser* of May 18, 1831, says, "The turnpike from Detroit to Saginaw passes through the most populous part of the county. . . . This road is intersected in every direction by roads accommodating the settlements in different parts of the county." It appears to have been the chief axis of settlement. The effect of very unfavorable conditions of surface, soil, timber distribution, and of water power, are seen in the backwardness of three of the northwestern townships: Brandon was broken, densely forested and had mediocre water power;⁷⁶ Highland and Rose, though more open, were high and hilly with only mediocre soil and water power,⁷⁷ and combined

76. *Ibid.*, 152.

77. *Ibid.*, 201, 261.

with these defects was their distance from the older centers of settlement.

The frontier in Washtenaw County included by 1824 settlements in seven surveyed townships: Webster and Northfield in the north,⁷⁸ Saline and York in the south,⁷⁹ and Ann Arbor, Superior and Pittsfield in the middle tiers.⁸⁰ In 1825 settlements were made at the north in the townships of Salem and Dexter,⁸¹ also in Scio, Lima and Lodi west and southwest of Ann Arbor.⁸² From 1825 to 1829 no new settlements were made, but in the latter year Augusta and Bridgewater, at the south, received their first settlers. In 1830-31 the townships of Sylvan and Sharon, in the extreme western part of the county, were first settled.⁸³ Manchester, in the extreme southwest, received no settlers until 1832,⁸⁴ and Lyndon, in the extreme northwest, had none until 1834.⁸⁵

These facts point to four specific determinants in the early extension of the Washtenaw frontier—the Huron and Saline rivers, and the Chicago and Washtenaw trails. From 1825 to 1829 they ceased to extend the frontier, a period coincident with that observed in Oakland County; but they were undoubtedly active in filling in population about the older settlements. At the beginning of this pause settlements had already extended over about three-fourths of the county, an

78. *History of Washtenaw County* (1881), 636, 668.

79. *Ibid.*, 669, 1378.

80. *Ibid.*, 873, 1066, 1254.

81. *Ibid.*, 599, 717.

82. *Ibid.*, 805, 820, 1277.

83. *Ibid.*, 752, 1296.

84. *Ibid.*, 1315.

85. *Ibid.*, 739.

area including all but one surveyed township in the three eastern ranges and lapping over upon the north end of the fourth range. The exception to settlement in the eastern ranges was the township of Augusta, in the extreme southeast, neglected probably because of an unfavorable environment; the surface was low, and over the stiff clay soil marshes alternated with heavily timbered land.⁸⁶ But into Augusta and Bridgewater the growth of population along the Chicago Road pushed the frontier in 1829; and closely following in 1830-31, the first settlements in Sylvan and Sharon townships reflect the influence of the recently surveyed road over the Washtenaw Trail. Below the latter in the extreme southwestern township of Manchester, the water power on the Raisin was the immediate motive of settlement. Above them in the extreme northwest, the township of Lyndon was the last to be favored; but this does not appear to have been due to defects in its physical environment;⁸⁷ while it had many lakes and ponds the approaches to them were comparatively clear, and though there were some tamarack swamps, it contained no extensive swamp areas like those in Augusta, Pittsfield and Sylvan townships. Very favorable to its settlement was the soil of sandy loam, also the numerous hickory and oak openings; but it lacked good water power, and this in combination with the natural engrossment of interest in the lands near the older settlements along the Huron River and the Terri-

86. *Ibid.*, 148, 1439; Michigan Geological Survey, *Annual Report* (1907), map in pocket; *Ann Arbor Folio*, plate "Topography."

87. *History of Washtenaw County* (1881), 148.

torial and Chicago roads was sufficient to delay its settlement.

The only settlement in Lenawee County in 1824 was Tecumseh. From 1825 to 1828 all the east-central townships of Lenawee received their first settlers,⁸⁸ and by 1830 the same could be said of all in the county except those in the extreme west and south. With the exception of Riga, which was first settled in 1836,⁸⁹ all of the townships contained settlers by 1834.⁹⁰

In this county, the heavy forests at the south, the Raisin River, the Chicago Road, and Bean Creek, were the strongest physical factors in determining the position of the early settlements. From Tecumseh and Adrian, on the line of the Raisin, the frontier spread out to the east, west and south,⁹¹ but denseness of forest at the south and east caused slow movement in those directions.⁹² The line of the Chicago Road and that of the Indian trail from Ohio east of Bean Creek tended to carry the earliest settlers to the more open country in the north;⁹³ the later impulse to immigration which was strongly felt about 1833 carried the frontier to the west and south in that and the following years.

88. *Hist. and Biog. Record of Lenawee County*, II, 48, 54; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 230; II, 373; *Comb. Atlas Map of Lenawee County*, 15.

89. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 374. The old maps represent Riga as covered with swamps. *Combination Atlas Map of Lenawee County*, 16.

90. *H. B. R.*, II, 9, 22, 35, 39; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 372, 374. Hogaboam, *Bean Creek Valley*, 21, 23, 24, 39; *Comb. Atlas Map*, 12, 16.

91. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 372, 374; *H. B. R.*, I, 65; II, 9, 22, 49. Hogaboam, *Bean Creek Valley*, 22, 23, 25, 32, 40, 51.

92. *Combination Atlas Map*, 16.

93. Hogaboam, *Bean Creek Valley*, 21.

It has been observed that while the frontier was extending, there was intensive as well as extensive growth, and that both were subject to the same general controlling factors; in general, the rate and direction of frontier extension was a measure of areal growth.

In 1820 Oakland County had a population of three hundred and thirty people,⁹⁴ and the position of the frontier indicates that the bulk of the people were near the two oldest colonies. In the year of the opening of the Erie Canal (1825) the sheriff's assessment showed that within the present boundaries of the county there were two hundred and eighty-two houses, forty-seven barns and two thousand six hundred and twenty-one acres of improved land.⁹⁵ Within one year, according to a census taken by assessors and reported in the *Michigan Herald* for June 7, 1826, the rapid settlement of the county had brought the number of dwellings up to three hundred and forty-one and the number of acres of improved land to four thousand and sixty-nine, while the population numbered something over two thousand. In 1827 the population seemed large enough to warrant the division of the county into five townships, and the evidence drawn from the number, size and position of these townships supplements that drawn from the position of the frontier line in showing that the population was distributed mainly in the southeast.⁹⁶ In 1830 the settlers of the county num-

94. *U. S. Census* (1820), 41.

95. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 571. The present boundaries of Oakland County were established in 1822. *Territorial Laws*, I, 332.

96. *Territorial Laws*, II, 477.

bered 4911,⁹⁷ and a new township (Southfield) was created in the southeast—the first in the county to have the small area of a Government township,⁹⁸ implying a considerable density of population. Frontier extension reflects rapid growth in 1830-31. The *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser* for May 18, 1831, records an estimation of from eight hundred to a thousand people who arrived in the county since the taking of the census of 1830. The same paper credits the county with thirteen stores, eight good flouring mills favorably situated to accommodate the settlers, about twenty first rate sawmills, and four or five carding and fulling mills equipped with looms for weaving; all this indicates enterprising industrial growth. There were no new townships until 1833, when six were created in that and the year following,⁹⁹ all of them excepting Waterford in the two southern tiers. The order of their formation reflects the call for township government, as the people moved westward. In the westernmost townships, Lyon and Milford, the population was probably sparse, since they received their first settlers within three years of the time of their creation.¹⁰⁰ In the four years from 1830 to 1834 the population of the county almost trebled, reaching in the latter year 13,844.¹⁰¹ In 1835-36, years of heavy

97. *U. S. Census* (1830), 153.

98. *Territorial Laws*, II, 818, 833.

99. *Ibid.*, III, 1124, 1275, 1839.

100. *Territorial Laws*, III, 1275. In the division of Farmington Township, the fact that it was the western rather than the eastern portion of it that was made equal to a surveyed township (Lyon), seems deceptive as an indication of relative density of population.

101. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 151.

land speculation and rapid settlement, township organization advanced rapidly northward beyond the center of the county,¹⁰² and by 1837 the entire county excepting its northwest corner was divided into a checker-board of six-mile squares.¹⁰³ According to the census of 1837 the county contained 20,176 people, of whom only about one-fourth had settled beyond a diagonal line from northeast to southwest.¹⁰⁴ The other diagonal, approximately the line of the Saginaw Turnpike, divided the population somewhat equally; settlers favored decidedly, however, the eastern side, which contained the first centers of settlement, at Pontiac and Rochester. The only township which exceeded the population of Pontiac was Farmington, about the middle of the southern tier, each having about seventeen hundred people. Only a half dozen townships, in the immediate vicinity of these, exceeded one thousand, and the northwestern townships fell considerably below five hundred.

There was no marked tendency in Oakland County toward centralization in this period, the only promising village centers being the settlements on the Clinton River at Pontiac, Auburn, and Rochester. The Pontiac Company was the power back of all the public improvements at Pontiac. It was at once made the county seat, and a description of its advantages and of the surrounding country appeared in the *Detroit Gazette* almost before a dwelling had been built there.¹⁰⁵

102. *Territorial Laws*, III, 1368, 1369, 1404, 1420; *Session Laws* (1835-36), 68, 69.

103. *Session Laws* (1837), 36, 40, 43.

104. *Michigan Legislative Manual* (1838), 72.

105. *Detroit Gazette*, Feb. 26, 1819. See also the same for Feb. 15, 1822.

Immigration was vigorously solicited, and Pontiac soon became an objective point for settlers from the eastern states. A letter from the western part of New York in 1820 to one of the editors of the *Detroit Gazette* says, "Our Emigrating Company is rapidly gaining recruits; and in the Spring we shall move in a body for Pontiac."¹⁰⁶ Though it was still regarded by many in 1821 as a "paper town," the confidence of settlers and prospectors was shown by the recent sale of more than fifty village lots at from \$20 to \$70 apiece.¹⁰⁷ The village in that year contained apparently not more than a half dozen dwellings,¹⁰⁸ but a substantial improvement had been made by the erection of a sawmill and gristmill.¹⁰⁹ The importance of this for the village and for the settlement of the county is reflected in a statement made by the *Detroit Gazette* of February 2, 1821, that within a week recently sixty-three sleighs, each loaded with from thirty to forty-eight bushels of grain, had arrived at the Pontiac mill, and all from a distance of more than twenty-five miles. The same paper in an editorial for December 13, 1825, mentions as "a singular fact and entirely new in this territory," that a wagon load of flour arrived in Detroit the week before from the interior, made at Col. Mack's mills in Pontiac, and it was understood that there were several hundred barrels there. It was further stated that this was the first

106. *Detroit Gazette*, Feb. 11, 1820.

107. *Ibid.*, July 20, 1821. It also had to contend with willful misrepresentations. See, for example, the *Detroit Gazette*, Aug. 30, 1822.

108. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 574.

109. *Ibid.*, II, 471.

season in which the farmers of Oakland County had been able to raise grain enough to supply themselves and the new settlers. By 1830 the growth of the supporting agricultural interests is indicated by the formation of a county agricultural society.¹¹⁰ The prevalence of wolves made sheep-raising precarious, but a woolen mill is said to have been "in full operation" in Pontiac in 1825.¹¹¹ The outlook for a surplus of produce started an agitation about 1830 for a railroad from Pontiac to Detroit. It is said that by 1830 the reputation of Pontiac as an industrial and trade center was well established among business men in the eastern states. In its issue of April 21, 1830, the *Northwestern Journal* credits the village with "three merchant traders," a sawmill, a flourmill, a woolen mill, an ashery, seventy-five buildings, and two hundred and fifty inhabitants. The new impulse to its settlement that came about 1830 is signalized by the establishment of a weekly newspaper, the *Oakland Chronicle*, which however was soon moved to Detroit.¹¹² An academy was chartered in 1833,¹¹³ and a branch of the University is mentioned by Blois. The settlement of the village

110. *History of Oakland County* (1876), 33.

111. *Detroit Gazette*, July 26, 1825. It was advertised to manufacture cloth three-fourths of a yard wide at 62½ cents per yard.

112. The paper ran for about a year, and its files, if they could be found, would give probably the best account of activities in the village and county in 1830-31; see *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser*, April 27, 1831. The first number of the *Oakland Chronicle* is said to have appeared May 31, 1830, its editor having been connected with the *Western Emigrant* at Ann Arbor. See *Northwestern Journal* of June 2, 1830.

113. *History of Oakland County* (1876), 92.

was very rapid from 1835 to 1837. It was incorporated in 1837, when Blois estimates the population at about one thousand souls.¹¹⁴

The site of the village of Rochester, about ten miles east of Pontiac where the Clinton River receives Paint Creek, was in the vicinity of excellent water power, which explains its early growth. Within eight years after its settlement four mills had been built near the site on the Clinton and tributary streams—shown on Risdon's map (1825). The *Detroit Gazette* of April 10, 1827, advertised a sale of village lots, and population increased during the following decade sufficiently to require four stores to supply the needs of trade.¹¹⁵

About half way between Rochester and Pontiac a village was laid out at Auburn, in 1826, which early attracted a number of well-to-do settlers and became a vigorous rival.¹¹⁶ Like Rochester and Pontiac, it was located on a good power site, and like them also it received its first vigorous impulse from the new spirit of immigration which followed the opening of the Erie

114. *Ibid.*, 73, 117; Blois, *Gazetteer*, 344. The progress of settlement in these latter years was not on a sound basis, as illustrated by the shrinking of credit and hard times when the financial crash of 1837 came. *History of Oakland County*, 34, 36, 84.

115. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 352. Pontiac had fourteen stores, *Ibid.*, 344. The populations of the respective townships were approximately equal, but Pontiac's trade probably reached a much wider area than that of Rochester.

116. One of the chief promoters of the village was a native of Middlebury, New York (Milton Hyde). The village was named from Auburn, New York. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 344-345. In the year ending March 31, 1827, the net receipt of postage at Pontiac was \$79.86, at Auburn \$8.46, while Rochester is not mentioned. *American State Papers, Post Office*, 179-180.

Canal. The editor of the *Detroit Gazette* speaks of it in 1826 as the site of Smith's mills, "a business-like little place, where there is erected an excellent flourmill and sawmill."¹¹⁷ Apparently, as in many other places, the mills preceded and attracted the promoters of the village. Its aspiration to be the chief village of the county was eclipsed by the choice of Pontiac as the terminal of the railroad,¹¹⁸ and in 1837 it is said to have been nearly destroyed by fire.¹¹⁹ Its great expectations, added to its signal failure, gave it first rank among the "paper towns" of the county.

Other village centers of farming population were platted in 1835 and 1836 as speculations, many of which, like Auburn, were reduced by the succeeding hard times to the fate of "paper towns." One of the earliest points on the Saginaw Trail mentioned in pioneer reminiscences was Royal Oak, which appears to have had little to recommend it for a village site excepting its position on the trail, but was later threaded by the road and the railroad and became the center of a considerable population. It was platted by the railroad company in 1836, and a steam sawmill was put in operation under the same auspices.¹²⁰ Under the impulse of the anticipated railroad, Birmingham was platted in the same year, and owed its early growth to being for many years the railroad terminal.¹²¹ In 1837 it was the second place in the county in point of busi-

117. *Detroit Gazette*, May 23, 1826.

118. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 344.

119. *Detroit Daily Advertiser*, Feb. 4, 1837. Blois credits it with two stores in 1838. *Gazetteer of Michigan*, 249.

120. *History of Oakland County* (1876), 239.

121. 1840-44. *Ibid.*, 323.

ness, having entirely eclipsed its neighbor, which began the same year only two miles away.¹²² The explanation seems to lie in the better soil, which attracted a larger farming population, and the advantages of water power on one of the head branches of the Rouge. Another village of this period deserving mention is Farmington, directly west of Royal Oak and Birmingham in the southern part of the county on a branch of the Rouge, the original nucleus of which was a colony of Quakers.¹²³ It appears to have had at the end of this period a number of mills, a couple of stores and about a score of families.¹²⁴ In the southwestern part of the county, similarly situated on mill sites, were the villages of Kensington¹²⁵ and Milford,¹²⁶ the former of which gained an unsavory reputation in the days of "wild-cat" banking.¹²⁷

The first newspaper mention of settlement in Washtenaw County was in connection with the location of the county seat in 1824, when the *Detroit Gazette* observed that "emigration is taking a direction that way."¹²⁸ In the issue of July, 30, 1824, the same paper notes, that whereas on the fourth of July in the year previous there were but nine persons in the county, in 1824 "the anniversary of Independence was celebrated by 79 persons—at the upper settlement about 50 at-

122. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 255, 354.

123. See articles in the *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser* for May 25, 1831, July 13, 1831, and May 25, 1832.

124. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 285.

125. *Ibid.*, 307.

126. *Ibid.*, 325; *History of Oakland County* (1876), 223.

127. See also the villages of Franklin, Morris' Mills, Niles and Stony Creek, in Blois, *Gazetteer*, 288, 328, 332, 365.

128. *Detroit Gazette*, Feb. 1, 1824.

tended;" adding, "The increase of population in this county has been about as rapid as that of Oakland during the two first years after the settlement commenced." Early in 1824 emigrants could have had before them a very favorable description of the county in the report of the commissioners appointed to locate the county seat, which was addressed to Governor Cass and published in the *Detroit Gazette*.¹²⁹ The year 1827 witnessed formal steps to encourage immigration, in the organization of the "Washtenaw County Society for the Information of Emigrants."¹³⁰

The growth of population in the county for the period from 1827 is reflected in the census figures and in the votes cast at different times for delegates to Congress. The votes at the Territorial election in the year 1827 and in every second year thereafter to 1835 increase almost in arithmetical progression,¹³¹ but the figures probably represent only approximately the actual increase. The United States census shows for the period 1824 to 1830 a population of 4,042,¹³²

129. *Detroit Gazette*, March 26, 1824. The land was declared as good as any yet explored; the Huron River was navigable and abounded in millsites; springs of pure water were numerous; timbered land, openings and prairies would accommodate all varieties of immigrants. It is interesting that the first signature to the report was that of Austin E. Wing, who became a partner in the founding of Tecumseh in Lenawee County instead of operating in Washtenaw.

130. *Detroit Gazette*, March 20, 1827. It was organized at a meeting held at Mill Creek (Dexter), and the newspaper notice is signed by R. Crossman and S. W. Dexter.

131. 244, 444, 648, 952, and in 1835, 1075; *History of Washtenaw County* (1881), 250-251.

132. *U. S. Census* (1830), 153.

while the Territorial census for 1834 gives 14,920.¹³³

An important hint as to the distribution of the early population of the county is contained in an act of the Territorial legislature in 1827, which divided the county into three townships;¹³⁴ in names and positions are reflected the four main centers of population: Ypsilanti, Ann Arbor, Saline and Dexter. In the subdivision of these townships the population is seen reaching out in 1828 to the north of Ypsilanti,¹³⁵ in 1829 to the south of Ann Arbor,¹³⁶ in 1832 to the north of Ann Arbor,¹³⁷ in 1833 to the west and northwest of Ann Arbor,¹³⁸ and in 1834 to the farthest western and southwestern parts of the county.¹³⁹ The backwardness of the western and southern corners of the county is suggested by the absence of independent townships. Here were situated the last townships to be organized.¹⁴⁰ By 1837 the entire area of the county had been divided like Oakland into townships six miles square. The population had increased to over twenty thousand.¹⁴¹ Its distribution, combined with the evidence from township organization, gives the same general impression as that already noted in the advance of the frontier, and suggests the forces already mentioned as governing the settlement of the county. The most populous townships lay along the Chicago and Territorial roads, ex-

133. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 151.

134. *Territorial Laws*, II, 479.

135. *Ibid.*, II, 687.

136. *Ibid.*, II, 712.

137. *Ibid.*, III, 925.

138. *Ibid.*, III, 996.

139. *Ibid.*, III, 1276.

140. *Ibid.*, III, 1404; *Session Laws* (1835-36), 68; *Ibid.* (1837), 41.

141. 21,817. *Michigan Legislative Manual* (1838), 73.

cepting Salem in the northeastern corner. Ann Arbor was approximately the center of population. The drift of settlement was quite evenly westward. The populations of the northern and southern tiers of townships were as six to five, while those of the eastern and western ranges were as seven to three.

The promising village centers in Washtenaw County were Ypsilanti, Ann Arbor, Saline, Dexter and Manchester. Besides having excellent farming country in the vicinity, the foundations of the growth of Ypsilanti were its water power, comparative nearness to Detroit, and its position at the junction of the Huron with the main thoroughfare along which settlers traveled from Detroit to southwestern Michigan and beyond. Its convenience as a resting place for travelers was early seen; among others who became successful inn-keepers was Benjamin Woodruff, who moved up from Woodruff's Grove¹⁴² when the failure of that settlement to be included on the Chicago Road destroyed it.¹⁴³

Ypsilanti is said to have received its first permanent settler from Romulus, Seneca County, New York;¹⁴⁴

142. On Risdon's map (1825) Woodruff's Grove looks more promising than Pontiac, as indicated by six dots to Pontiac's five. For its first settlement and early fate see Beakes, *Past and Present of Washtenaw County*, 548. The account is said to be based upon that of a person who lived in the home of one of the settlers near the date of settlement.

143. The effect of the Chicago Road appears to be reflected in the postoffice receipts at the two places for 1827 and 1828: in 1827 at Woodruff's Grove, \$27.67, at Ypsilanti, \$8.93; in 1828 at the former, \$23.36, at the latter, \$22.95. *American State Papers, Post Office*, 180, 210

144. Beakes, *Past and Present of Washtenaw County*, 564. John Stewart, who bought the north French claim.

and among the first owners of the village plat (1825) was the Virginian and friend of Jefferson, Judge Woodward of Detroit, whose classical sympathies above mentioned are again reflected in the naming of Ypsilanti for the hero of the Greek war for independence.¹⁴⁵ The prevalent faith in the prospects of the village is illustrated by an entry in a settler's diary for 1827, that "Nature and art have combined to make it a place for business."¹⁴⁶ Boats of twenty tons burden plied between the landing four miles below, and Lake Erie; property was valued "very high;" the author of the diary bought two village lots (half an acre) for \$100. By 1830 the population of the village reached two hundred and forty.¹⁴⁷ It is said to have doubled by 1834,¹⁴⁸ and Blois (1838) credits it with one thousand people.¹⁴⁹ Illustrative of frontier conditions, it is recorded by Harriet Martineau in 1836 that there was as yet no bridge at the village for foot passengers, vehicles having to go a mile down the river to the ferry, but a bridge was being built.¹⁵⁰

Ann Arbor was incorporated a year later than Ypsilanti, (1833), but its settlement was on the whole

145. *Ibid.*, 565. For the early development of Ypsilanti from 1825 to 1837 the same work gives a well digested and apparently accurate account in pages 732-737.

146. The diary of Mark Norris, cited in *History of Washtenaw County* (1881), 1114.

147. *The Northwestern Journal*, August 25, 1830, quoting the *U. S. Census* schedules.

148. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 337.

149. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 383.

150. *Society in America*, I, 319. *The Northwestern Journal* of Oct. 27, 1830, records that a Working Men's Society was organized, a local illustration of the wide-reaching movement of the time for labor organization.

more rapid. Being somewhat removed from the Chicago Road it missed the early advertisement which position on that thoroughfare gave to its rival. This was partly offset by its position on the Territorial Road nearer the center of the county, and by the acquisition of the county seat in the very year it received its first settlers (1824).¹⁵¹ This made it a center of attraction, as the place where justice was administered and as headquarters for "landlookers." The author of the diary above quoted stayed at Ann Arbor while "looking" land in the county, but he was more impressed with Ypsilanti as a place of business. Ann Arbor seemed to him rather a "place for lounging and gossip." The three or four inns¹⁵² in 1827 appear to be evidence of a considerable transient population;¹⁵³ the resident population is said to have been housed in some twenty or thirty dwellings.¹⁵⁴

Ann Arbor's advantages of water power and surrounding agricultural lands were fully equal to those at Ypsilanti, and were early advertised by the proprietors of the village plat. The water power at the mouth of "Allen's Creek" is mentioned in the report of the commissioners who located the county seat,¹⁵⁵ and

151. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 335.

152. Beakes, *Past and Present of Washtenaw County*, 556; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 334.

153. The postoffice receipts for the year ending March 31, 1827, were at Ann Arbor \$151.47, at Ypsilanti \$8.93. *American State Papers, Post Office*, 179, 180.

154. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 334.

155. *Detroit Gazette*, March 26, 1824. *The Northwestern Journal* (Detroit) for May 5, 1830, points out Ann Arbor as an "especially fine place for capital to invest in a flouring mill." See also Beakes, *Past and Present of Washtenaw County*, 627-629, for power development on the Huron River.

a mill is indicated there on Risdon's map. In the *Detroit Gazette* for June 4, 1824, a public notice signed by John Allen and Elisha W. Rumsey as proprietors of the village, invites the attention of emigrants to Ann Arbor, "particularly of Mechanics and Artisans." By 1830 the population of the village had reached three hundred and fifty. Hoffman, visiting the village late in 1833, estimated its population at seven or eight hundred,¹⁵⁶ and between that time and the close of the period it appears to have more than doubled, reaching about two thousand.¹⁵⁷

The impulse to the settlement of the village and county at the beginning of the thirties is illustrated by the choice of Ann Arbor for the first newspaper venture, which unlike that in Oakland County proved successful, and did much to advertise the advantages of the village to settlers. It was first known as *The Western Emigrant*,¹⁵⁸ and appears to be the one mentioned by Harriet Martineau in an interesting comment in 1836: "At Ypsilanti," she says, "I picked up an Ann Arbor newspaper. It was badly printed; but its contents were pretty good; and it could happen nowhere out of America, that so raw a settlement as that at Ann

156. *The Northwestern Journal* of August 25, 1830, quoting from the schedules of the census. Hoffman, *A Winter in the West*, I, 156-157. As elsewhere stated, he entered the county by way of Monroe and Tecumseh.

157. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 249. The settlement of Ann Arbor from 1824 to 1837 is well sketched by Beakes, in *Past and Present of Washtenaw County*, 700-702.

158. The first number appeared Oct. 18, 1829. The name was changed several times. The *Ann Arbor Argus*, first issued February 5, 1835, may have been the paper referred to by Harriet Martineau. See Beakes, *Past and Present of Washtenaw County*, 616-619.

Arbor, where there is difficulty in procuring decent accommodations, should have a newspaper."¹⁵⁹ Conditions improved much within the next five years, according to Lansing Swan, who in 1841 found "an excellent hotel," having come up from Ypsilanti, "not liking our quarters to stay over the Sabbath." In his *Journal* he says,¹⁶⁰ "Ann Arbor is a delightful place of about two or three thousand inhabitants and is in every respect a much neater and more thriving place than any of its size in our own state [New York]. There are five churches and a state university now building on a scale of magnificence far beyond Union College at Schenectady, besides many other very fine public and private buildings."¹⁶¹ I do not wonder that people are made crazy by coming to Michigan if what I have seen is a specimen of the country."

The site of Saline is said to have been chosen (1824), by the surveyor of the Chicago Road, for a city; but the tradition does not seem consistent with the delay of eight years before platting a village.¹⁶² Its ad-

159. Martineau, *Society in America*, I, 319. She apparently did not visit Ann Arbor. The first newspaper at Ypsilanti appears to have been the *Ypsilanti Republican*, in 1837. Beakes, *Past and Present of Washtenaw County*, 624.

160. Swan, *Journal of a Tour to Michigan*. The closing statement refers to his observations of the Territory as a whole, including the settlements along the Territorial and Chicago roads.

161. In 1832 the academy had an attendance of one hundred students, and its principal of that year suggests that this institution marked the beginning of that reputation for school privileges which later secured for the city the State University. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 400. See also McLaughlin, *Higher Education in Michigan*, 39.

162. *History of Washtenaw County* (1881), 1378; Beakes, *Past and Present of Washtenaw County*, 576.

vantages were promising: position on the Chicago Road, power from the Saline River, fertile openings, and plentiful timber; it was also near an extensive deer-lick and salt spring, and had early been favored as the site of an Indian village.¹⁶³ The *Detroit Gazette* for December 13, 1825, announces that a sawmill will be built soon by Risdon near the salt springs on the Chicago Road. Blois mentions a flourmill and sawmill near the village, and the presence of three stores in 1837 indicates that village life was beginning;¹⁶⁴ its growth was restrained by that of Ypsilanti and Ann Arbor above, and by Tecumseh and Adrian on the south.

Dexter and Manchester were quite as rudimentary as Saline. Six years elapsed between the platting of Dexter and the purchase of the site by Samuel W. Dexter¹⁶⁵ in 1824, although this site, "Mill Creek," was one of the earliest centers of settlement to receive newspaper mention. Dexter was located on a "plateau" near the junction of Mill Creek with the Huron, water power being the principal motive to settlement. Its first actual settlers are said to have come from Ann Arbor. In 1830, the year in which the village was platted, its distinction from the surrounding country consisted in a small cluster of log dwellings, a grist mill, a sawmill, a store, and an inn, apparently the only one existing at that time west of Ann Arbor.¹⁶⁶

163. *History of Washtenaw County* (1881), 1369, 1373. On the Risdon map (1825) salt springs are shown at Saline on the Chicago Road.

164. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 357.

165. For Samuel W. Dexter and his land speculations, see Beakes, *Past and Present of Washtenaw County*, 567, 680.

166. *History of Washtenaw County* (1881), 828-829.



SOUTHEASTERN MICHIGAN IN 1825

(Mich. Hist. Colls., XXXVIII, 634)

This map was drawn by Orange Risdon of Detroit, surveyor of the Chicago Road. The scale is four miles to an inch. An original copy is in the office of the Historical Commission at Lansing. See pp. 95-243.

Though it had five stores in 1838 its settlement was apparently not much, if any, in advance of that at Saline, being, as there, overshadowed by the larger villages.¹⁶⁷

Manchester was located on the Raisin, at a point where that river crossed one of the largest burr-oak plains of the county.¹⁶⁸ In 1832 an inn and a sawmill were built there by a prominent settler of Ypsilanti, and from that time it began to be a nucleus of settlement. By 1834 enough settlers had gathered in the neighborhood to warrant the building of a schoolhouse.¹⁶⁹ Blois does not mention the village.

In Lenawee County, population increased slowly before 1830. According to General Brown, one of the founders of Tecumseh, there were in January of 1827 six hundred people in the county.¹⁷⁰ By 1830 the population had grown to 1491,¹⁷¹ and to 7,911¹⁷² by 1834. There as elsewhere in the section the increase was the most rapid in the years beginning with 1833. It is reflected in the increase of the number of townships from four in 1833 to nine in 1834.¹⁷³ The bulk of this

167. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 281.

168. Beakes, *Past and Present of Washtenaw County*, 1313.

169. *Ibid.*, 1315. Risdon's map (1825) shows a village of Dixboro, above Ypsilanti. This settlement was promoted by a speculator from Boston, who appears to have won the disfavor of settlers, and early gave up the experiment. See Beakes, *Past and Present of Washtenaw County*, 568.

170. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 229-230; *Territorial Laws*, II, 292.

171. *U. S. Census* (1830), 153.

172. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 151. The figures for 1830 and 1834 probably include Hillsdale County, as Hillsdale was attached to Lenawee until its organization in 1835, and the separate figures do not appear for it in the censuses.

173. *Territorial Laws*, II, 478, 587; III, 998, 1275.

population was in the northeast, in the vicinity of Tecumseh and Adrian. These were the starting points for the numerous "land-lookers" that followed closely in the wake of the first settlers, where the houses of settlers served temporarily as inns, and where guides could be obtained to show the way to the best Government lands. In 1835-36 settlement went hand in hand with speculation in the lands of this county, and is marked by the organization of new townships.¹⁷⁴ By 1837 the checker-board appearance of townships prevailed in all parts of the county excepting the eastern range, where Ridgeway and Riga had not yet been separated from Macon and Blissfield, a region of heavy timber.¹⁷⁵ The sparseness of population in the southern townships, shown in the census of 1837, also indicates this impediment to settlement. The filling-in process about the older settlements and the very gradual extension of the frontier is reflected in the large numbers in the townships about Tecumseh and Adrian and the decreasing population towards the west. There were in the entire county in 1837 less than fifteen thousand people.¹⁷⁶

Tecumseh owed its early rapid growth largely to the enterprise of its founders, who were able business men of means, but appear to have had ulterior motives. Austin E. Wing is quoted as saying to Mus-

174. *Territorial Laws*, III, 1367; *Session Laws* (1835-36), 69, 70.

175. *Session Laws* (1837), 44. The townships in the southern tier were not quite square, because of the addition of a narrow strip on the south to each by the adjustment of the Ohio boundary dispute.

176. *Michigan Legislative Manual* (1838), 72. Hudson township appears not to have been returned.

grove Evans: "If we go into milling and farming, and establish a mill, settlers will know that I am interested, and will vote to send me to Congress. If I am elected, with the aid of Gen. Jacob Brown, you can be appointed government surveyor."¹⁷⁷ The fruition of these hopes appeared to require the cooperation of Joseph W. Brown, who was a brother of Gen. Brown, and happily also a miller as well as a practical farmer. These men provided very early all that they could of the essential institutions of village life on the frontier. In the first year they platted the village and secured for it recognition as a post village and county seat.¹⁷⁸ A sawmill, a gristmill, and a store soon followed.¹⁷⁹ Lumber sawed there was used to build the first frame house in 1825. A contemporary writer in the *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser*, over the signature "Truth," reflects the impulse to growth received by the village in the early thirties, crediting the village in 1832 with two schoolhouses, a gristmill, a sawmill, a tannery and a furniture factory.¹⁸⁰ The latter industry appears to have become early somewhat of a specialty, according to Harriet Martineau, who observed in 1836, "We reached Tecumseh at half-past nine, and perceived that its characteristic was chair-making. Every other house seemed to be a chair manufactory."¹⁸¹

177. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 479.

178. *Ibid.*, I, 227.

179. *Ibid.*, I, 222, 228; *Historical and Biographical Record of Lenawee County*, I, 41, 43. See early mention of the progress of the village and its advantages in the *Detroit Gazette* for August 6, 1824; Oct. 1, 1824; Dec. 13, 1825.

180. *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser*, Jan. 4, 1832.

181. *Society in America*, I, 320.

It was "a pretty village laid out with broad streets and having an excellent tavern on a public square in the center," says Hoffman, writing late in 1833.¹⁸² A large factor in its early settlement was the possession of the county seat, but its position not being sufficiently central to the county, it lost this advantage about the close of this period in favor of the rival village of Adrian.¹⁸³ It had then a population of about one thousand.¹⁸⁴

Adrian, unlike Tecumseh, was founded originally by the enterprise of one individual, but it early drew to itself many settlers of means. Though it was platted four years later than Tecumseh, its more central position, making it the logical place for the county seat, induced its citizens early to begin an agitation to have the county seat removed thither from Tecumseh, and the prospect served to attract settlers to it. A saw mill was built before the village was platted, and a gristmill, a store and a frame schoolhouse had been added by 1829.¹⁸⁵ In 1830 the population in the vicin-

182. *A Winter in the West*, I, 149.

183. The county-seat contest was vigorous. Tecumseh's side of the issue is presented in the *Detroit Daily Free Press* for March 17, 1836. The act for its removal is in *Session Laws* (1835-36), 83, dated March 21, 1836, but it was not to take effect until 1838. See also *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 364; XXXVIII, 483.

184. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 372. Adrian's population contained a large number of Quakers, which is said to have had much to do with its early exemplary government, and with making it a prominent station on the "Underground Railroad" in ante-bellum days. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 279. There were members of the Society of Friends also in Tecumseh, and in other parts of the county, particularly in Rollin Township.

185. *Historical and Biographical Record of Lenawee County*, I, 50, 53.

ity of Adrian appears to have been nearly five hundred people.¹⁸⁶ It is significant of its prospects that in 1834 the first newspaper in the county was started at Adrian, and not at Tecumseh.¹⁸⁷ This may have been in part owing to the prospect of the completion of the railroad then being built from Toledo, of which Adrian seemed likely to be for some time the northern terminal.¹⁸⁸ The enterprise of the villagers is shown by the fact that the capital to build this road was subscribed mainly by Adrian citizens. The central position of the village, its acquisition of the county seat, its relation to the new railroad, and the enterprise of its citizens, were main agents in its successful struggle with Tecumseh for the line of the later Southern Railroad from Monroe. By the close of the period it appears to have had a population slightly greater than that of Tecumseh.¹⁸⁹

A nucleus of settlement was forming at the junction of the Chicago Road with a branch of the Raisin, just above Tecumseh, which was destined to develop into the village of Clinton. Its first settlers came in 1829-30, and a pioneer reports it to have had in 1831 about a dozen dwellings and two taverns, one of the latter a two-story frame structure.¹⁹⁰ Though overshadowed by Tecumseh, it profited by its position on the Chicago Road and awaited the agricultural development of

186. *Ibid.*, I, 54; *Territorial Laws*, II, 587. This estimate is based on the population of Logan Township. The postoffice receipts in 1830 at Adrian were \$58.57, at Tecumseh \$99.99.

187. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 231.

188. *Ibid.*, II, 364.

189. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 246.

190. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 384.

the vicinity. By the close of the period its population had reached about half that of Tecumseh or Adrian.¹⁹¹

The states from which came the founders of these first settlements of the section, ranged from Virginia and Massachusetts to Pennsylvania, New York, and Ohio. The leader of the first colony in Oakland County (Avon Township) was of Irish stock, who had lived in early life at Tioga Point, Pennsylvania; he had migrated from there first, about the year 1800, to Oxford in Upper Canada, and in 1816 to Mt. Clemens.¹⁹² The members of the Pontiac Company were mainly natives or emigrants from Massachusetts, Vermont, Connecticut and New York.¹⁹³ The Woodruff's Grove settlers in Washtenaw were originally from Ohio,¹⁹⁴ their first accession was from Genesee, New York,¹⁹⁵ and the first permanent settler of Ypsilanti was a native of Romulus in the same State.¹⁹⁶ Of Ann Arbor's first two families, one came from Augusta County, Vir-

191. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 265. Lenawee County was prolific in villages. See *Ibid.*, 257, 261, 299, 302, 309, 311, 315, 337, 352, 364. Many more are mentioned, founded mainly in 1835-36 as speculations. One in Cambridge Township, for instance, was started on Wolf Creek, a stream said to have been advertised as navigable for the largest class of steamboats, where city lots were sold for fabulous prices, and wild-cat bank-notes circulated by the uncut ream. *Historical and Biographical Record of Lenawee County*, II, 17.

192. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 569. *History of Oakland County* (1876), 138.

193. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 560, for list of these members.

194. *History of Washtenaw County* (1881), 1099.

195. *Ibid.*, 118.

196. *Ibid.*, 1109.

ginia,¹⁹⁷ the other from Genesee County, New York. In the Tecumseh colony, Austin E. Wing, who, though he was a partner in the enterprise of founding the village, did not reside there, was a native of Berkshire County, Massachusetts;¹⁹⁸ the other partners, Evans and Brown, were both natives of Bucks County, Pennsylvania,¹⁹⁹ but had lived for some time in New York, principally at Brownsville in Jefferson County, from the vicinity of which they brought a company of about twenty persons in 1824.²⁰⁰ The founder of Adrian came from Palmyra, New York.²⁰¹ There is no doubt that the bulk of the early population of this section came from New York and the New England states.

With scarcely an exception, people from widely separated localities were to be found in any of the early settlements. For example, in Avon Township there were between 1817 and 1825 settlers from Massachusetts, Connecticut, Vermont, New York and Pennsylvania.²⁰² But in some places settlers from a particular source strongly predominated, frequently those from New York. The principal source often appears to be indicated by the names of villages or townships, for it was very natural that men and women who had separated themselves from the old home should wish to perpetuate its memory in the name of the new

197. *Ibid.*, 884; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 333.

198. *Michigan Biographies*, 704.

199. *Historical and Biographical Record of Lenawee County*, I, 41, 67; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 222.

200. *Historical and Biographical Record of Lenawee County*, I, 40; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 222.

201. *Michigan Biographies*, 186.

202. *History of Oakland County* (1876), 130-139.

center of village life; moreover, such names would naturally tend to encourage immigration from the source which they indicated and in some cases seem to have been deliberately chosen with that end in view. But it would be very misleading to take these names alone as evidence of a numerical superiority in any settlement. Townships were usually named in the legislative act which organized them, and while attention would be paid to a preference expressed by the settlers themselves, the legislature often named townships arbitrarily; often a prominent settler had sufficient influence to cause his choice to prevail either with or against the other members of the community. Many examples might be given of names which seem significant for the sources of population: in Lenawee County, Woodstock and Cambridge, Seneca, Palmyra, Madison, Rome; in Washtenaw County, Bridgewater, Manchester and Salem, Scio, Sharon and Augusta; in Oakland County, Oxford, Addison, Orion, Avon and Milford, Commerce, Farmington, Lyon and Troy. These names in the main seem to point to New York, but a caution is suggested by a glance at the gazeteer, which shows their numerous prototypes in the states farther east.²⁰³

The foreign elements of the population of the section in this period were mainly English, Irish, Scotch and German. In 1830 the total number of foreigners in

203. It is worth a passing notice that the names of the larger centers of population are of a different type. Pontiac and Tecumseh bear the names of Indian chiefs; Ypsilanti bears the name of a Greek hero, and Adrian that of a Roman emperor; the name of Ann Arbor has a personal significance. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 333.

the three counties who were not naturalized amounted to 128,²⁰⁴ but this probably represents only a small proportion of the settlers who were born in foreign lands. They were distributed as follows: in Oakland 84; in Washtenaw 27; in Lenawee 17. The Germans were more numerous in Washtenaw County, and settled mainly in the townships of Ann Arbor and Freedom.²⁰⁵ The center of their settlement in Washtenaw County in 1833 seems to be indicated by the situation of their first Church, two miles west of Ann Arbor.²⁰⁶ Hoffman, in the account of his visit to the village of Ann Arbor in 1833, does not mention Germans, but Englishmen;²⁰⁷ and a nucleus of Englishmen seems to have formed about 1830 in Independence Township in Oakland County.²⁰⁸ In 1831 a small colony of English and Irish distinguished for learning and culture, settled in Lenawee County on the shore of Sand Lake, Cambridge Township. Irish settlers are mentioned frequently, and also the fact that they showed a preference for the lake district.²⁰⁹ Two Scotch centers of settlement in that county seem to have formed in West Bloomfield and Highland townships.²¹⁰ In 1825 a company of thirty Canadians from South Yarmouth are said to have settled in Avon Township.²¹¹

204. *U. S. Census* (1830), 115.

205. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXVI, 249, 250, 254; *History of Washtenaw County* (1881), 1292; Beakes, *Past and Present of Washtenaw County*, 651-658.

206. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXVI, 255.

207. Hoffman, *A Winter in the West*, I, 157. The reference to Englishmen is possibly a typographical error.

208. *History of Oakland County* (1876), 207.

209. *Ibid.*, 138, 184, 193, 207, 275, and *passim*.

210. *Ibid.*, 201, 314.

211. *Ibid.*, 132.

While the colonies were usually founded by individual initiative and enterprise, frequently a number of families migrated from the old home together, as is reported in the case of the Canadians from Yarmouth and the settlers of Farmington.²¹² Organized business effort founded Pontiac and Tecumseh. In some colonies a religious bond furnished one of the motives for group settlement and encouraged the addition of similarly minded immigrants. Such were the Quaker settlements in Tecumseh, Adrian, and Farmington, and the Free Church settlement in Superior Township in Washtenaw County.²¹³ Apparently the only social experiment in colonization was that tried from England by a wealthy disciple of Robert Owen, who purchased and planned to colonize thirteen eighty-acre tracts in Bloomfield and West Bloomfield townships in Oakland County. The scheme failed,²¹⁴ it is said, through lack of enterprise on the part of its promoter.

The section was as yet too young and the struggle with nature too severe to permit of much development

212. *Ibid.*, 166.

213. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VII, 528; *Historical and Biographical Record of Lenawee County*, II, 48; *History of Oakland County* (1876), 166; *History of Washtenaw County* (1881), 1066. There were few religious eccentrics among the settlers of this section, like the Mormons in Illinois of about the same time, though it is interesting to note an editorial in the *Detroit Courier* for May 8, 1833, quoting a letter written from Auburn, Oakland County, published in the *Rochester Revivalist*, saying that two "Mormonite preachers" had recently made their appearance in the vicinity, and had made several converts. A small settlement of Mormons in Highland Township is mentioned in the *History of Oakland County* (1876), p. 201. They appear to have left the county, however, before 1836.

214. *Ibid.*, 312.

in the institutions of culture. Embryo newspapers struggled for patronage at the county seats.²¹⁵ Primitive schools existed in every township,²¹⁶ and there were small academies in Pontiac and Ann Arbor.²¹⁷ Church organizations were established side by side with the schools, and in the larger centers separate church buildings were erected. Good government and good morals prevailed generally, though there were some sharp contrasts.²¹⁸

215. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 231, 336; VI, 96; VII, 232.

216. The settled townships in Oakland County are said to have had in 1831 an average of three schools. *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser*, May 18, 1831.

217. *History of Washtenaw County* (1881), 611; *History of Oakland County* (1876), 92; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 400.

218. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 223; XXVIII, 146; *History of Oakland County* (1876), 110.

CHAPTER V

ST. JOSEPH VALLEY AND CHICAGO ROAD

THE section of Michigan Territory which was settled next after Oakland, Washtenaw, and Lenawee counties, is comprised in the five counties westward from Lenawee—Hillsdale, Branch, Cass, St. Joseph, and Berrien. Reaching from Lenawee County to Lake Michigan, this area borders at the south upon the states of Ohio and Indiana, and at the north upon the counties of Jackson, Calhoun, Kalamazoo and Allegan.

The characteristic features of this section were in the early days of settlement, as they are now, similar to those of Oakland, Washtenaw, and Lenawee counties, having a common origin in glacial action. The surface varies from gently undulating to rolling and slightly hilly, being lowest in the western portion near Lake Michigan, where it reaches an elevation of about one hundred and fifty feet, and it rises to an altitude of over six hundred feet above lake level in Hillsdale County, at the eastern end of the section.¹ The surface of Cass County is fairly level, that of St. Joseph moderately undulating, while the westernmost county, Berrien², more nearly resembles, excepting in general elevation, the counties of Branch and Hillsdale.³ Hillsdale is

1. Tackabury, *Atlas*, 11.

2. *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties*, 127.

3. See Prof. C. A. Davis's description of the surface geology of the region of Cass County in Glover's *History of Cass County*; Blois, *Gazetteer*, 241.

preeminently a county of hills and dales,⁴ and from its varied surface it receives a natural beauty quite equal to that found in parts of Oakland. This crest of the ancient glacial moraine is the highest table-land in the southern peninsula, forming a principal part of the watershed between lakes Erie and Michigan, and the springs and small lakes which dot its slopes give rise to four important rivers—the Raisin, the Grand, the Kalamazoo and the St. Joseph.⁵

The trend of the surface carries the waters of this section towards Lake Michigan, through its single river system, the St. Joseph,⁶ which unifies the section by affording uniformly excellent power and drainage, and a current sufficiently gentle, deep and wide to permit of navigation by small boats throughout the entire course of the main stream. At a very early date sawmills

4. The county appears to have been named from this physical feature, though the name is borne by places in the East—for example, in Columbia County, New York, in Indiana County, Pennsylvania, and Bergen County, New Jersey—from whence settlers might have brought it to Michigan.

5. Reynolds, *History of Hillsdale County*, 19, 28; Collin, *History of Branch County*, 16; Blois, *Gazetteer*, 220-221; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 168, 171.

6. According to a description said to be quoted from the St. Joseph *Beacon* but based largely on Farmer's *Emigrant's Guide*, appearing in the *Detroit Free Press* for Oct. 11, 1832, "the St. Joseph country" seems not to have included Hillsdale County, and to have covered, besides the rest of the southern tier of counties, Calhoun and Kalamazoo counties in Michigan and what were then La Grange, Elkhart, St. Joseph and LaPorte counties in Indiana. This was justified by the position of northern branches of the river and by its southern bend through northern Indiana. The usage is well to remember in reading estimations of population for "the St. Joseph country."

began to appear at numerous points, and gristmills very soon followed. A carding mill is said to have been started on a branch of the St Joseph in Cass County as early as 1830.⁷

Small lakes similar to those in Oakland and Washenaw were very numerous in this section, especially in the eastern part, and the excellent fish which came up the streams from the Great Lakes were a welcome addition to the food supply of the early settlers.⁸ Again, the beauty of the environment is said frequently to have been one of the motives of settlement, as at Lake Gilead in Branch County⁹ There were a few extensive marshes, the largest of which were in southern Branch County east of Lake Gilead, and in St Joseph County above Middle Lake, also along Dowagiac Creek in Cass County and in the western part of Berrien.¹⁰

The soil, with very few exceptions, was uniformly fertile. There was one extensive tract of comparatively poor sandy land along the shore of Lake Michigan in the northwestern part of Berrien, and narrow bands of heavy lake clay along the shore south of this sandy tract made a soil like that so characteristic of Monroe and Wayne counties. The level clay loam, of the kind predominating in western Lenawee, formed the soil of large areas in parts of Berrien, and in Branch and Hillsdale, but the prevailing soil of the section was a rich gravelly or sandy loam, comparatively open and easy to cultivate. The early settlers seem to have considered the yellow sandy loam of the white and

7. Glover, *History of Cass County*, 154.

8. Reynolds, *History of Hillsdale County*, 20.

9. Collin, *History of Branch County*, 70.

10. *Mich. Geol. Survey Rep.* (1907), map in pocket.

yellow oak-openings sterile.¹¹ Doubtless their preference for the darker loam of the prairies was partly due to greater familiarity with that kind of soil in Ohio and Indiana.¹² In 1838 Blois reported for Berrien County "exuberant crops,"¹³ which appear to have grown mainly on the prairies. He says that the soil of St. Joseph County, where the first settlements were largely upon the prairies, was "formerly considered the best in the State."¹⁴

Large portions of the section were unusually free from dense forest. The only large continuous areas presenting this obstruction to settlement were on the clay land in southern Hillsdale and Branch counties, and in the southwestern part of Berrien. The northern part of Hillsdale is said to have been like a succession of orchards, and it was probably in these openings the "strawberries were so plentiful that the cows often came home with their feet stained with the juice of the delicious fruit."¹⁵ Northern Branch County, excepting in small areas, as in Union Township, was equally inviting to the early settler. Estimates of the amount of heavily timbered land in Branch vary from one-half to one-third of the county's area.¹⁶ There

11. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 215.

12. Glover, *History of Cass County*, 113.

13. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 214.

14. *Ibid.*, 241.

15. Collin, *History of Branch County*, 19, 22; Blois, *Gazetteer*, 220-221; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 181.

16. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VI, 216; Blois, *Gazetteer*, 214. The first articles appearing in the newspapers calling attention to Branch County mention the "extensive forests of fine maple" in the southeast, and the open lands and prairies of the north and northwest. See for example the *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser* for June 1, 1831, and May 2, 1832.

were scattered openings in Berrien, and some prairie land, but dense forest covered the greater portion of its area.¹⁷ In fact the larger portion of the entire section was covered with oak openings, burr-oak plains, and small prairies, the former being specially valued by settlers from the East, the latter by settlers from the South. Cass and St. Joseph counties were the most open of all in the section, having the most numerous and the largest prairies, and it was these counties that early gained most rapidly in population¹⁸ Of the prairie land, there were two important areas in Berrien, one south of Niles and one about Berrien Springs.¹⁹ Branch County had several small prairies, in the vicinity of Bronson, Girard and Coldwater. Hillsdale was the least favored with prairie land, and the fact that its first settlements were made upon what it contained of this land shows that it was a natural advantage strongly preferred by settlers.

The general effect of the relative position of the open and forested lands in the section can easily be made to appear. The belt of dense forest observed in Lenawee County to have been unfavorable to the rapid extension of the frontier, continued its northern border in a southwesterly direction across Hillsdale and Branch, and passed into Indiana before reaching St. Joseph County. On the north of this line, oak open-

17. Coolidge, *History of Berrien County*, 166, 192; Blois, *Gazetteer*, 214.

18. The relative slowness with which the more heavily forested lands in these counties were settled, is illustrated by the vicinity of Marcellus in Cass County. Glover, *History of Cass County*, 117. It received its first settlers in 1836, and had in 1843 but eighteen voters.

19. Coolidge, *History of Berrien County*, 198, 208.

ings and burr-oak plains interspersed with patches of heavy timber and fertile prairie land extended westward to Lake Michigan. The relation of these two areas helped to determine the position of the Chicago Trail and hence of the national turnpike, which was the main axis of settlement in the section. Approaching the section in a westerly direction from northern Lenawee, this trail entered Hillsdale County near the northeast corner, continued its direction across the north of Hillsdale, whence, proceeding southwestward across Branch, it entered St. Joseph County near the southeast corner; from there it continued almost straight west across the southern part of St. Joseph and Cass counties, passing out of the Territory across the southeast corner of Berrien.²⁰ Its general course suggests that the Indians sought to avoid the heavy timber of Branch, Hillsdale, Lenawee and Monroe counties; its minor windings seem to have been partly determined by the prairies, which the Indians crossed where convenient, and on the edges of whose fertile open areas they established their villages. The surveyors of the national turnpike, the early exploring parties, and the first settlers, were thus at once brought into direct contact with these prairies and their natural advantages for transportation and agriculture.

The direct effect of the prairies on settlement is abundantly attested in every county of the section, but especially in the southwest. It was to be expected that immigration, seeking the lines of least resistance, would early move along the Chicago Road, but the first settlements in the section were not made from

20. Lanman, *Michigan*, map in front.

the east; they were made from Ohio and Indiana, and by settlers who reached the Territory over a branch of the Chicago Trail leading from Fort Wayne who had heard of the prairie lands in St. Joseph and Cass counties and had come to occupy them. The early settlement of the section was the result of a combined movement of population, of which before 1830 the immigration from the south to the southwestern prairies was by far the more important.

This southwestern settlement undoubtedly was one factor in determining the general relative rate of settlement of different parts of this section throughout this period. It appears to explain, in part, why the counties of Hillsdale and Branch, which were farthest east, and whose lands came onto the market first, were settled latest and least rapidly. The population of Cass and St. Joseph had each passed the three thousand mark by 1834, and Berrien was approaching eighteen hundred;²¹ Branch county had not at that time reached a population of eight hundred, and Hillsdale numbered but a little over five hundred.²² The comparative backwardness of Hillsdale and Branch counties had three principal causes. There was first the tendency of Tecumseh, Adrian and the other older settlements in the eastern part of the Territory to assimilate those immigrants, who, while wishing to get good lands, preferred a comparatively close neighborhood; secondly, there was the forest barrier against immigration from the south into the lower parts of these counties, combined with the presence of inviting prairies in the open

21. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 151.

22. Reynolds, *History of Hillsdale County*, 28.

country to the west, which gave St. Joseph and Cass counties a good start before the public land sales and the improvement of the Chicago Road facilitated the influx of settlers from the eastern states; again, there was the power of concentration enjoyed by the thriving southwestern settlements, attracting such eastern settlers as might be willing to leave the vicinity of the older settlements.

At the time of the Cass expedition over the Chicago Trail in 1820, this whole section was a primitive wilderness, save for the Indians and a few French traders at the Indian villages and on the prairies and the banks of the St. Joseph. The Indian claims to the region were ceded by a succession of treaties from 1821 to 1833.²³ The Indians retained a few reservations the total area of which was not great; but since they occupied some of the most attractive prairie land in the section, and since the character of the Indians was generally such that newcomers tended to avoid their neighborhood, these reservations were temporarily a retarding influence upon the spread of settlement in their vicinity. They were found chiefly at Coldwater in Branch County, in the northern part of St. Joseph, and in the southeastern part of Berrien. The entire area of Berrien south of the St. Joseph River and west of the Parc aux Vaches, was not ceded until 1833;²⁴ as it was in the main heavily forested, there was little pressure for its cession, except from speculators in timber. While the presence of the Indians on the prairies was

23. Bureau of American Ethnology, *18th Annual Report*, Part 2, pp. 702, 718, 740, 750.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 702, 750.

by virtue of their occupation of the land a retarding influence, their personal relations with the white settlers do not seem to have been hostile. There was in 1832 some anxiety that the Indians of the section might rise to join Black Hawk, and though the fear seems to have been groundless from the Indians' point of view, the effect was temporarily quite material upon settlement.²⁵ On the passing of this trouble the early fear of them appears to have softened into a feeling of pity for their approaching fate, which seems to be the meaning of the general indifference of settlers to staying after they had ceded their lands. Apparently however, throughout this period, the life especially of the women was materially influenced by suspicions of their intentions and by the grossness of their habits when influenced by liquor.²⁶

The peopling of the section received its first appreciable impulse from the establishment of the Carey Mission in Berrien County, and from the survey of the Chicago Road. The Carey Mission, founded from Fort Wayne, Indiana, under the auspices of the Territorial government of Michigan, attracted attention especially from Indiana and Ohio, and the reports about

25. Glover, *History of Cass County*, 103; Collin, *History of Branch County*, 27; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 498-499.

26. An illustration of the better class among the Indians of this vicinity is furnished by the Indian settlement in Silver Creek Township in Cass County, under the Potawatomi Chief Pokagon, which became a center of Catholic influence. Glover, *History of Cass County*, 285; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XIV, 260. See also Mrs. Hulst's graceful tribute to the character of these Indians, in her *Indian Sketches*, 40-111. Pokagon, on Pokagon Prairie, the earliest of the settlements in Cass County, still preserves the name of Chief Pokagon.

the fertile prairies with their marginal forests led to a considerable immigration from below Michigan. At first the mission was a point of radiation for the extension of the frontier, but as settlement struck root firmly in the lands to the eastward, immigration to them became direct. The survey of the Chicago Road attracted attention particularly in the East, and in the wake of the surveyors came parties of hunters, prospectors and homeseekers. These early settlers were squatters, still few in number when the first lands of the section came into market in 1829. There were at that date less than two thousand people in the whole section.²⁷ The year 1829 marked a distinct advance in the western settlement of Michigan. Many counties were then established, and Cass and St. Joseph were organized. The formation of local government by the Territorial legislature and the possibility of securing valid titles to land were strong inducements to settlement.

The difficulties which attended a journey to the western part of this section in the early days were very great and retarded settlement materially. A pioneer of 1828, starting on horseback from Sandusky, Ohio, waded knee-deep for miles through Cottonwood Swamp, breaking the ice for his horse as he went, and reached the mission after two weeks of travel without meeting the sign of a habitation.²⁸ The trail from Fort Wayne to the mission was rough and dangerous, crossed by many

27. *U. S. Census* (1830), 153.

28. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 123-124.

streams.²⁹ The Chicago Road was not surveyed until about the time the southwestern counties received their first settlers from Ohio and Indiana; in a sense it may be said to have followed the first immigration from the East, being practically only a "paper road" until actual travel made a real highway out of the old Indian trail. The first immigrants over it threaded the primitive wilderness, fording streams, wading swamps, and sleeping in the forest.³⁰ Some use was early made of water transportation, especially for goods, by way of the Straits of Mackinac and then inland by small boats up the St. Joseph River.³¹ About 1830 mill-irons which were destined for a point in Branch County were brought from Detroit in this way.³²

The line of the Chicago Road was the great axis of settlement in this section, and from settlements made there the frontier extended to neighboring prairies, oak openings and timbered land. Settlers along the road opened their log cabins as taverns to accommodate the traveler, and these spots became centers of informa-

29. Coolidge, *History of Berrien County*, 20, 37.

30. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 222.

31. *Ibid.*, I, 124; Coolidge, *History of Berrien County*, 176-177.

32. Collin, *History of Branch County*, 43. The all-water route, however, was expensive and open only part of the year. Transportation by the Chicago Road seems not to have been considered sufficient in 1833 to take care of the increasing production in the St. Joseph country. In the *Detroit Courier* for Nov. 27, 1833, is reported a meeting of settlers in the vicinity of White Pigeon to petition for a railroad between Lake Erie and Lake Michigan, one of the first movements culminating in the later Southern Railroad. This was a project not to be realized for this part of the section, however, for two decades.

tion about the surrounding country.³³ The following illustration of one of these taverns and of life on the Chicago Road in the early thirties is typical.³⁴

"Immediately after the opening of the Chicago Road Jonesville presented daily the appearance of a pioneer camp. All around the little log house of entertainment, where Beniah and Lois Jones made so comforting a welcome as to cause the wayworn travelers often to forget the discomforts they had experienced in the tangled undergrowth and deep mires of the Cottonwood and Black swamps, which their wearisome journey from the east had compelled them to cross, white-topped wagons were thickly packed together, and men, women and children engaged in earnest conversation.

. . . Emerging from the forest, coming from the east, would appear a hardy and stalwart pioneer in the prime of life, guiding the ox-team, or teams, that bore along all of the family's persona effects. His boys followed, driving perhaps a cow or two, and a few pigs and sheep. His wife and daughters, tired of their long tramp of many weary miles through the woods and swamps and over rough roads, trudged scatteringly behind. Sometimes a hale, white-haired patriarch, staff in hand, with head erect and firm step, would march at the head of the teams or among the grown-up and married sons and daughters, undaunted by ^rthe privations and hardships that he knew so well from former experiences, must be their lot in their new

33. Thirty-three taverns in one county (Branch) on the Chicago Road are said to have been noted by a passing settler in 1837. Collin, *History of Branch County*, 30.

34. Reynolds, *History of Hillsdale County*, 32.

homes. . . . Following these might be seen others, and more favored immigrants, who had passed less time on the way, for they rode in covered wagons drawn by sleek well-groomed horses, indicating owners in prosperous circumstances."

By 1830 two stages weekly were running from Detroit to the southwest over the Chicago Road. Postoffices were established along the road at intervals. Enterprising settlers introduced stocks of goods at these most frequented points, which became distributing centers, markets, and nuclei of village life. Active improvement of the Chicago Road by the Government began in 1831-32; stages were increased to three a week in the early part of 1832 and were coming daily by 1835.³⁵ The year 1831 was a significant year for the platting of villages and the establishment of county seats.

This section experienced, in common with the rest of the Territory, a temporary check to immigration from the Black Hawk War and the cholera epidemics of 1832 and 1834. It has been asserted that stages were in 1832 withdrawn from the Chicago Road for want of passengers,³⁶ but the year 1833 witnessed a renewal of immigration. Hillsdale County, also Branch, which was organized in that year, began to feel the effects of the new tide from New York.³⁷ For the total popula-

35. Glover, *History of Cass County*, 170; *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties*, 51.

36. Collin, *History of Branch County*, 30; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VI, 239.

37. *Territorial Laws*, III, 1362. The dates of county organization in the section—1829, 1831, 1833, 1835—correspond approximately to the four great impulses to its settlement.

tion of the counties of this section at the beginning of 1833 there are no statistics, but if a judgment may be made from the number of new settlements and the rapidity with which the frontier was extended, more people were received in the two years 1833-34 than in all the time preceding. Before the close of 1834 there were over nine thousand people in the section; by 1837 the number had increased to more than twenty-five thousand.

The stages of immigration to this section are reflected in a comparison of populations. The whole section numbered in 1834 but little more than the population of the single county of Monroe, in the same tier of counties. It was far surpassed by each of the counties of Washtenaw and Oakland,³⁸ and was nearly doubled by the population of Wayne. Detroit alone contained almost one-half as many people as this whole southwestern section.³⁹ By 1837 the section had much more than doubled the population of Monroe County, and considerably exceeded that of either Washtenaw or Oakland, having about one-half the population of those counties combined with Lenawee, and a little more than that of Wayne County including Detroit.

People came to this section by two great movements of immigration, and the early population of the section is therefore varied. The settlers of St. Joseph, Cass and Berrien appear to have come intermediately from Ohio and Indiana, and in less numbers from Kentucky and Tennessee; a majority, either by birth

38. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 151.

39. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 336.

or descent, were traceable to the South Atlantic states, in particular Virginia and North Carolina.

At first the two western counties of St. Joseph and Cass were favorites. They had the least dense forest, the greatest number of prairies which appealed especially to Southern immigrants, and an approach that was comparatively easy. Berrien County occupied in rate of settlement a middle position up to 1834, for several reasons—its greater distance west, its smaller amount of prairie land, the small proportion of its area that was within easy reach of the Chicago Road, and the late date at which its lands came upon the market. Yet it was in Berrien County that settlement was first begun. The French were early there, though their occupation of southwestern Michigan left little but traditions and a few geographical names,⁴⁰ and a small number of French traders gave a little aid to the first settlers.⁴¹ But the earliest real impulse to agricultural settlement in this region came from the Carey Indian Mission,

40. For example, St. Joseph, Prairie Ronde, La Grange, Parc aux Vaches and Bertrand. See also, *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXVII, 179-186, for activities south of Niles about Fort St. Joseph. The *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties*, 127-130, gives some account of the early French at the site of the present city of St. Joseph.

41. Coolidge, *History of Berrien County*, 19, 20, 171-172, 206; Glover, *History of Cass County*, 38-39; *History of St. Joseph County* (1877), 220; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 332; II, 490; VI, 423. A French trading post appears to have been established in 1833 at the site of the present village of Mendon in St. Joseph County, whose founder is said to have given much aid to the first settlers of that neighborhood. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 404-406. Though the place received its first settler in 1834, apparently the village was not platted until 1845. *History of St. Joseph County* (1877), 220, 223.

whose official nature and reputation made it the headquarters for settlers and a point from which the frontier was extended.

The Carey Mission was established in 1822-23, under the auspices of Governor Cass, whose interest in the project appears to have been a direct result of his expedition to this region in 1820. At the head of this enterprise Cass appointed the Reverend Isaac McCoy, a native of Pennsylvania, who as a Baptist missionary had conducted a French and Indian mission at Fort Wayne, Indiana. The result was the emigration of about fifty persons, in 1822, from the vicinity of Fort Wayne to a point about a mile west of the present city of Niles, where within the following year they built six mission houses.⁴² In 1824 the report of the Indian agent called the Carey Mission "a colony firmly settled, numerous, civilized and happy," having fifty acres cleared and fenced, on which had been raised sixteen hundred bushels of corn, one hundred and fifty bushels

42. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 12; V, 146. A general secondary account of the founding of the mission, together with much data for the sources of early settlers near it, is given in the *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties* (1880), 153-163, 260-264. McCoy tells of the beginnings of his relations with Cass in connection with the Fort Wayne Mission in his *Baptist Indian Missions*, 90. See *Ibid.*, 71-89, for an account of McCoy's work at the Fort Wayne Mission. Cass' letter of instructions to McCoy, dated July 16, 1822, appears in the same work, 145-154; among other requirements McCoy was to report twice a year to the governor of Michigan Territory and to the Indian agent at Chicago. A summary of McCoy's first report from the Carey Mission is given at p. 201, and an account of the mission in the same year (1823) by Mr. Keating is quoted on pp. 197-198 from Vol. I, of Major Long's *Expedition to the Sources of the St. Peter's*.

of oats, and four hundred bushels of potatoes.⁴³ In 1826 another report made to Cass credits the mission with over two hundred acres of land fenced, fifty planted to corn, and eight acres to potatoes and other vegetables.⁴⁴ The next year Cass personally visited the mission to treat with the Potawatomis, having been, as McCoy says, a sort of patron of the mission.⁴⁵

Settlement began early to spread out from the Carey Mission, but McCoy apparently did not favor the settlement of the neighboring lands by whites. He says he was continually haunted by the painful reflection that the Indians would soon be displaced by them; he writes, "Our location was so remote from the settlements of white people when we first made it, and the inconveniences of reaching and residing at it so great, that we hoped, at that time, to be able to push forward the work of civilization to a state not much liable to injury by the proximity of white population, before we should be crowded out."⁴⁶ Of the sort of influence that made the missionary in general unfriendly to the advance of the white man's frontier, he gives an example that is typical—a man from Indiana came in

43. McCoy, *Baptist Indian Missions*, 241. Report of Mr. Leib to Lewis Cass. This report, dated Nov. 20, 1824, was transmitted to the Secretary of War and published in an eastern paper, the *Columbia Star*, from which it was quoted *in toto* by the *Detroit Gazette* of Sept. 26, 1826. The editor of the *Gazette* says it is the first time he has read it, showing that it was probably not known at Detroit before its appearance in the *Gazette* in 1826.

44. Coolidge, *History of Berrien County*, 17. In 1827 Cass personally visited the Carey Mission to treat with the Potawatomis. McCoy, *Baptist Indian Missions*, 319.

45. McCoy, *Baptist Indian Missions*, 319.

46. *Ibid.*, 264.



LEWIS CASS

(*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXIX, 272)

From the oil painting in Representative Hall at Lansing.—Lewis Cass as Governor of Michigan Territory from 1813 to 1831 was the greatest single personal influence in the settlement of the Territory. He was a native of New Hampshire and came to Michigan from Ohio to serve in the War of 1812. He was made Brigadier General in 1813. From 1831 to 1836 he was Secretary of War under President Jackson; from 1836 to 1842, Minister to France; from 1845 to 1848 and again from 1849 to 1857, United States Senator from Michigan; and from 1857 to 1860, Secretary of State under President Buchanan. His life spanned the formative period in the national life, extending from 1782 to 1866. See p. 50.

the spring of 1825 afoot and alone to the mission and made a settlement on the St. Joseph River as near to the mission as he could without trespassing on the claims of the Indians; notwithstanding that he was dependent on the mission for subsistence, and regardless of protest, he procured a barrel of whiskey and began selling it to the Indians. It appears that in 1829 McCoy and his family left the mission for the West.⁴⁷

Outside of the mission and west of Tecumseh there were, in 1825, only nine white families—seven in Berrien County and two in Cass.⁴⁸ One of the most prominent settlers in Cass county was a mission teacher, Baldwin Jenkins, born at Fort Jenkins in Green County, Pennsylvania, who had early emigrated to Tennessee but had left to avoid the presence of slavery.⁴⁹ He came to the mission from Green County, Ohio.⁵⁰ Two days earlier than Jenkins came Uzziel Putnam, also from Ohio, a native of Wardsboro, Vermont.⁵¹ Putnam had formerly lived in Massachusetts and New York, and came to Cass from Erie County, Ohio, by way of Fort Wayne and the mission.⁵² These settlers with their families founded on Pokagon Prairie the nucleus of Pokagon village. As illustrating the importance attaching to the first settlers of a region, it should be mentioned that Jenkins was appointed by Governor Cass justice of the peace for St. Joseph

47. *Ibid.*, 386.

48. Glover, *History of Cass County*, 43; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, V, 149.

49. Glover, *History of Cass County*, 45, 143.

50. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, V, 150.

51. *Ibid.*, XVIII, 347.

52. Glover, *History of Cass County*, 40, 41.

Township, which included then all the country west of Lenawee County, was one of the first associate judges under the Territorial government, and became a delegate to the constitutional convention of 1835.⁵³

The mission, the prairies, the Chicago Trail, and water power, made the combination of influences that determined the location of the first settlements in Cass County. The influence of the mission is seen in the location of the first settlements of Cass, in the western part of the county. The settlement of Pokagon Prairie in 1825 was followed by the settlement at Edwardsburg, on Beardsley's Prairie, in 1826.⁵⁴ The first, unlike the second, was not on the Chicago Trail, but considerably north of the mission, just to the east of Dowagiac Creek and near where the carding mill was started in 1830. Water power was a chief motive of the settlement at Adamsville, at the junction of the Chicago Road with Christian Creek.⁵⁵ Settlement first reached the eastern part of the county on a prairie crossed by the Chicago Road at Union.⁵⁶ In 1829 the northern part of the county was reached at Little Prairie Ronde, by natives of New Jersey, who are said to have emigrated from Union County, Indiana.⁵⁷

The first settlements in St. Joseph County appear to have had no special connection with the mission. Immigration from the South began to blend very early there with that from the East, though the former was

53. Glover, *History of Cass County*, 43; *Michigan Biographies*, 375.

54. Glover, *History of Cass County*, 45, 120.

55. *Ibid.*, 124.

56. *Ibid.*, 125.

57. *Ibid.*, 51.

until the end of this period strongly preponderant. The survey of the Chicago Road tended to dispel the false ideas of the interior which had been held in the East, and parties of prospectors, hunters and home-seekers were led to follow its "blazes" to the southwest.⁵⁸ In the spring of 1825 the *Detroit Gazette*, on the basis of information received from the surveyors, called attention to the excellent lands on the headwaters of the St. Joseph,⁵⁹ and soon afterward the *Michigan Herald* commented on the progress of the land surveys upon "the St. Joseph and the Canamazoo."⁶⁰ Within two years natives of Maine and Vermont, from Brownstown in Wayne County, Michigan, and from Jennings County, Indiana, settled on White Pigeon and Sturgis prairies, arriving by way of Monroe and Tecumseh; the trip was made in about twenty days.⁶¹ In 1827 at the first election held in White Pigeon, the county polled fourteen votes,⁶² representing probably the strength of the voting population on the two prairies. Settlement on other prairies soon followed.⁶³ The site of Mottville on the St. Joseph River was in 1827 selected for a mill site by a settler from Crawford County, Ohio. Many settlers followed from that county,⁶⁴ and in the next year a

58. *History of St. Joseph County* (1877), 14; Reynolds, *History of Hillsdale County*, 24.

59. *Detroit Gazette*, March 18, 1825.

60. *Michigan Herald*, Feb. 14, 1826.

61. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 489, 493; XVIII, 223, 373, 517; *History of St. Joseph County* (1877), 14, 61, 62, 71.

62. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XVIII, 513.

63. *Ibid.*, I, 123; II, 489; IV, 217, 219, 424; XVIII, 349, 353, 609.

64. *History of St. Joseph County* (1877), 86, 137, 212.

typical pioneer "first store" was established of which the stock was "codfish, a keg of tobacco and five barrels of whiskey."⁶⁵ By 1829 the frontier had reached the northern part of the county on Nottawa sepe Prairie, near the Indian reservation.⁶⁶

Despite the mission, the early settlement of Berrien County suffered from competition with Cass and St. Joseph. Settlers who were attracted to its vicinity from the South by the fame of the mission, soon moved away to the prairies eastward, which fast gathered population. Settlement in Berrien struck root firmly in 1829, when Niles village was platted by a colony of three Southern families who had come thither the previous year⁶⁷ from Richmond, Indiana; one of the most influential of the families was native to Virginia;⁶⁸ they established a store and their account books for 1828 register for that year the names of seventeen customers.⁶⁹ The success of this colony was due not a little to the charming site they chose on the banks of the St. Joseph near where it crossed the Chicago Trail. Settlement soon followed elsewhere in the county. In the year in which Niles was platted a family of Poles from Preble County, Ohio, settled about a mile down the river from Niles, followed by a family of North Carolinians who had sojourned in Indiana.⁷⁰ The same year saw the beginning on Portage Prairie, from Wayne County, Indiana;⁷¹ at Berrien Springs on Wolf's

65. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XVIII, 514.

66. *Ibid.*, II, 493; VI, 424.

67. Coolidge, *History of Berrien County*, 22-23.

68. *Ibid.*, 142.

69. *Ibid.*, 141.

70. *Ibid.*, 167-168.

71. *Ibid.*, 208.

Prairie, from North Carolina;⁷² and in 1828-29 at St. Joseph, from Ohio, New Hampshire and New York.⁷³

The importance of the site of St. Joseph as a strategic and commercial point was recognized early both by the French and the Americans. It had a position at the mouth of one of the most important rivers of southern Michigan and on elevated ground that added to its security, healthfulness and beauty.⁷⁴ It appears that La Salle and his party explored the lower part of this river in 1679, and that shortly afterwards the Jesuits founded at its mouth a mission and built a fort there.⁷⁵ When the American Government began to see the need of a fort on Lake Michigan its commissioners chose the site of St. Joseph, but the opposition of the Indians, with whom at that time no treaty of cession had been made, led the Government to decide instead upon the site of Chicago, where in 1804 it built Fort Dearborn.⁷⁶ In 1870 William Burnett, a trader, native to New Jersey, established his post at the site of the old French mission, and in his day there seem to have been many French-Canadians there.⁷⁷

72. *Ibid.*, 198; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 120.

73. Coolidge, *History of Berrien County*, 171-172.

74. It occupied a peninsula formed by the lake and river on the south side. On the point of the peninsula there was at the time of its first settlement about half an acre of cleared land, apparently made by the early mission, which was of advantage to its first American settlers. *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties* (1880), 315.

75. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 121.

76. *Ibid.*, I, 122. It is probably a far reach to conclude from this, as has been done, that Michigan instead of Illinois might have had the great metropolis of the Middle West; yet the suggestion is a hint of the possibilities in the very humblest beginnings of early settlement.

77. Coolidge, *History of Berrien County*, 19, 171-172.

Extracts from the account books of Burnett, as quoted in the *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties*,⁷⁸ appear to show the place to have had much of the nature of a true settlement. But the first strong impulse to American settlement came from Calvin Britain, a native of Jefferson County, New York, who came to Michigan in 1827 and engaged in teaching at Carey Mission.⁷⁹ He came to the site of St. Joseph in 1829, the year in which McCoy left the mission, and a little later laid out the village. His strong influence was exercised through a long period in that community, with the result that many settlers were attracted from his native county in New York.⁸⁰

The years from 1827 to 1829 mark the first really active settlement in the southwestern counties. Sections were surveyed there from 1827 forward, and sales began in those counties in 1829.⁸¹ In that year a large number of counties were established in the southwest; the counties of Cass and St. Joseph were organized, and local government was established on the township system in Cass, St. Joseph and Berrien.⁸² Each of these counties had received at several points their first settlers. There is abundant testimony as to this.

78. The originals are now in the Burton library at Detroit.

79. Coolidge, *History of Berrien County*, 171-172; *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties* (1880), 312.

80. *Michigan Biographies*, 123. He was a member of the Territorial legislature from 1832 to 1835; a member of the constitutional conventions of 1836 and 1850; a State senator from 1835 to 1837; a representative in the State legislature in 1847, 1850 and 1851; and lieutenant governor in 1852.

81. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 179; II, 376; XVIII, 513; Coolidge, *History of Berrien County*, 30.

82. *Territorial Laws*, II, 735, 744, 786.

"One fact speaks more than a volume of description and reasoning, (says the editor of the *Northwestern Journal* December 2, 1829). Mr. Savary left this city last spring with his wife, two children, one hired man and a team of horses. He proceeded to Pigeon Prairie, (St. Joseph County), put up a block house, fenced in a field of 75 acres, which he planted with corn, from which he has gathered a crop of 3,000 bushels, and another field of 29 acres which he has sowed with wheat. With the proceeds of part of the corn and of his live stock he has paid the first cost of the land and all his expenses, and has money in his pocket. He has also, remaining, nearly 100 hogs, and 2,000 bushels of corn." About a month later the editor returns to the theme: "We adverted some time since in general terms to what would be deemed by a New England farmer, the miraculous results accomplished by Mr. Savary and one laborer. We now are able to add that the statement we then made was, to say the least, a very moderate one. In addition to the proceeds of his crops, amounting at a low estimate to more than one thousand dollars, his improvements have added one thousand dollars to the value of his land. And this in the brief interval between the first of March and the first of November. In all this he has not done more than others in that region." With such a glowing and apparently disinterested statement before prospective settlers the editor hardly needed to urge "at least an exploring tour to the region of the St. Joseph."⁸³

83. January 13, 1829. See also editorials in the same paper for March 3 and July 7, 1830, and the *Detroit Free Press* for

In the two eastern counties of Hillsdale and Branch, settlement was barely beginning in 1829. In Hillsdale Captain Moses Allen settled upon the prairie which took his name, where he preempted land in 1827. He had been a captain in the War of 1812 and had settled after the war at Wyandotte in Wayne County, Michigan.⁸⁴ He is said to have accompanied the surveyors of the Chicago Road in 1825, and in the following year to have gone with a prospecting party through the entire length of the St. Joseph Valley. In 1827 he brought his family and goods to the prairie of his choice.⁸⁵ This was then the only settlement between Tecumseh and White Pigeon and it became a nucleus for further settlement. When the lands of the county came into the market in 1829 five purchasers bought four hundred and eighty acres there in that year.⁸⁶ On the representation of Captain Allen, Beniah Jones came to Allen's Prairie in 1829, and choosing a site for a village at the junction of the Chicago Road with the St. Joseph River became the founder of Jonesville,⁸⁷ which for a long time was one of the most noted stations on that thoroughfare.

In Branch County the first settlement was made, not from the East, but from Ohio.⁸⁸ The choice of a loca-

83. *Con.* September 22, 1831, the latter quoting extracts from a letter of a St. Joseph farmer showing the superior value of the St. Joseph lands for wheat raising over those on the Erie Canal, despite the greater distance from the eastern market.

84. *History of Hillsdale County* (1879), 35.

85. *Ibid.*, 35.

86. Reynolds, *History of Hillsdale County*, 27.

87. *Ibid.*, 60; *History of Hillsdale County* (1879), 36.

88. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XII, 400.

tion fell naturally upon prairie land, and the name of the settler, Jabez Bronson, soon attaching to the prairie, still remains in the southwestern township of Bronson. This settlement was made in 1828.⁸⁹ The previous year Bronson had raised a crop of corn on White Pigeon Prairie in Cass County⁹⁰ and it is curious that with such early knowledge of that region he should have moved farther east. No sufficient reason, apparently, has been assigned; none can be found in his original occupation as a shipwright,⁹¹ nor was he of the hunter type of pioneer wishing to get away from associates, for he located on the Chicago Road where his log cabin early became known as "Bronson's hotel."⁹² In the winter of 1829-30 there were a half dozen families on the prairie, which became the nucleus of Bronson village.⁹³

The logical choice for the first settlers in Branch County would seem to have been the prairie about the site of Coldwater. This lay eastward from Bronson Prairie, also on the Chicago Road, and would meet the first eastern immigration coming to the county. But the first settlement from that direction was not made there, and a reason appears apart from the fact of Bronson's approach from the west and the attraction which his vicinity might have for newcomers. On Coldwater Prairie, Indians were in possession of a large reservation made by the Chicago treaty of 1821.⁹⁴

89. *Ibid.*, VI, 217; XVIII, 609.

90. Collin, *History of Branch County*, 41.

91. *Ibid.*, 41. He seems to have come from Connecticut.

92. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VI, 218.

93. Collin, *History of Branch County*, 41.

94. Bureau of American Ethnology, *Eighteenth Annual Report*, Part 2, p. 704.

Several hundred Indians were gathered there, and though this land was ceded to the Government in 1827, it was a considerable time before they were removed.⁹⁵ They were on the whole friendly, but their selfishness, vagrancy, drunkenness, and thieving, made them undesirable neighbors.⁹⁶ A settlement was made on Cocoosh Prairie at the extreme north of the county in 1829.⁹⁷

By the year 1830 the older settlements of this section had gained considerable strength. Of the younger counties, Branch had more settlers than Hillsdale, but these probably did not number more than a hundred.⁹⁸ In the national census for 1830 the population of Branch fails to appear independently; it is included in that of the township of Green, a large township comprising in addition to Branch the counties of Calhoun and Eaton and "all the country lying north of the county of Eaton;"⁹⁹ but the population of Green Township together with that of Flowerfield Township in St. Joseph County with which it was included, numbered only one hundred and ten people.¹⁰⁰ The population of the remaining area within the present limits of St. Joseph County was distributed between the two large equal townships of White Pigeon and Sherman,¹⁰¹ to the

95. *Ibid.*, 718; Collin, *History of Branch County*, 50.

96. Collin, *History of Branch County*, 26, 50.

97. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VI, 218, 219, 238; XVIII, 609.

98. In an article in the *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser* for May 2, 1832, signed, "An inhabitant of Branch," the population of the county is estimated at about fifty families.

99. Collin, *History of Branch County*, 28; *Territorial Laws*, II, 787.

100. *U. S. Census* (1830), 153.

101. *Territorial Laws*, II, 786-787.

westernmost of these was credited six hundred and seven people, to the eastern two hundred and five. Thus White Pigeon was the center of a county population of over eight hundred people. Cass County had a total population of more than nine hundred, who were distributed about equally in four townships.¹⁰² That of the middle-western townships of Pokagon and LaGrange was slightly more than half, and this together with their smaller size points to the fact that the bulk of the population of the county was gathered about Pokagon and La Grange prairies. Berrien County appears in the census as the township of Niles¹⁰³ with a population of about three hundred, which was mainly within a short radius of Carey Mission.

From 1830 onward population increased steadily until it was checked by the cholera epidemic¹⁰⁴ and fear of the Black Hawk War in 1832. In this period the two movements of population to southwestern Michigan blended and began to push up into Kalamazoo and Calhoun counties. It was a marked recognition of the strength of the new impulse to immigration that a new land office was established at White Pigeon in 1831;¹⁰⁵ recognition of the new tide of settlers to the Kalamazoo Valley is reflected in the removal of that office in 1834 from White Pigeon to Kalamazoo. The only serious break in the continuity of the stream

102. *Ibid.*, II, 786.

103. *Ibid.*, II, 786.

104. Campbell, *Outlines*, 437-440.

105. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XVIII, 513.

of immigration came in 1832, with effects that were felt in the section for a year or more.¹⁰⁶

The choice of White Pigeon as the place for the new land office indicates the central position it held in this early settlement of the southwestern counties. The village had been laid out in 1830.¹⁰⁷ Its importance is reflected in the words of the traveler Hoffman who was there in the winter of 1833-34, who says, "At White Pigeon, where I found quite a pretty village of four years growth, I seemed in getting upon the post route from Detroit to Chicago, to get back once more to an old country."¹⁰⁸ The impression was doubtless heightened by his recent experience—he had come west over the Territorial Road and had just traveled over fourteen miles direct from Prairie Ronde in Kalamazoo County without seeing "the sign of a habitation" until he approached White Pigeon Prairie; but in conveying the idea of a well settled locality which had an aspect of permanence his words were probably justified. In that year the *Michigan Statesman and St. Joseph Chronicle* is mentioned as having been received at Detroit from White Pigeon.¹⁰⁹ In 1831, the year the land office was opened there, the population of the village was estimated by the *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser* (June 15) at about six hundred people. The presence of three sawmills and two

106. Collin, *History of Branch County*, 29-30; Glover, *History of Cass County*, 103; Reynolds, *History of Hillsdale County*, 27; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 498.

107. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XVIII, 515.

108. Hoffman, *A Winter in the West*, I, 219.

109. *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser*, Nov. 27, 1833.

gristmills at that date bespeaks considerable activity in building and agriculture.¹¹⁰

Other St. Joseph villages platted at this time were Centerville, Mottville and Constantine. Slight beginnings had been made at Three Rivers and Burr Oak. Centerville was platted (1831) on Nottawa-sepe prairie, one of the largest and most fertile in the southwest. A piece of land about one-half a township in area was reserved in 1821 to the Potawatomi Indians,¹¹¹ which was not open to settlement until two years after the Indian treaty of 1833;¹¹² but south of the reservation a line of settlements began to form as early as 1828-29; one of these was Centerville. These settlements were the first that were made in the northern part of the county.¹¹³ Among the first people to settle here were Virginians, of whom the pioneer records make a point of saying that the traditional Virginian hospitality, freely extended, made the way easier for later comers.¹¹⁴ In the year of the founding of Centerville there came to the vicinity a little colony of thirty-two people from Ohio, led by a native of Vermont.¹¹⁵ The prevailing sources of the population—Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania

110. This issue contains a very full description of the condition of settlement there at that date, emphasizing the advantages for emigrants. A lack of good mechanics is mentioned, all turning farmers as soon as they arrive. See also the same paper for July 27, 1831, and June 15, 1832.

111. Bureau of American Ethnology, *Eighteenth Annual Report*, Part 2, p. 704.

112. *Ibid.*, 718.

113. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 489.

114. *Ibid.*, VI, 424.

115. *History of St. Joseph County* (1877), 155.

and Ohio—show the blending of the two movements from the East and from below Michigan.¹¹⁶

In contrast with these prairie villages, Mottville and Constantine represent the sawmill type of village. The former was chosen as a mill site in 1827 by a settler from Crawford County, Ohio; its early settlers were largely Ohioans.¹¹⁷ Constantine was platted in 1831 at the junction of the St. Joseph with Fawn River at which time three families had gathered there from Ohio and Pennsylvania.¹¹⁸ The first gristmill in the county to run by water was built there in 1830.¹¹⁹ From the same sources came the first settlers of Three Rivers, a site chosen also for its water power, though no village was laid out until 1836.¹²⁰ A considerable immigration to the burr-oak plains which have given the name to the village of Burr Oak took place in 1833.¹²¹

Cass County shared with St. Joseph in rapidity of settlement, but there was in the former, in this period, a lesser tendency to village formation. In 1831 Edwardsburg was laid out on Beardsley's Prairie, near the junction of the St. Joseph River with the Chicago Road where a settlement had been begun in 1826. With three stages weekly running through that point¹²² it had apparently superior advantages for concentrating population, and the progress of township organiza-

116. *Ibid.*, 156.

117. *Ibid.*, 86, 137, 212.

118. *Ibid.*, 116.

119. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XVIII, 514.

120. *History of St. Joseph County* (1877), 137, 138, 140; Clark, *Gazetteer of Michigan*, 488.

121. *History of St. Joseph County* (1877), 181.

122. Glover, *History of Cass County*, 121, 170.

tion reflects rapid rural growth there.¹²³ The only other village founded in the county in this period was Cassopolis, started as a result of a struggle among several neighboring settlements for possession of the county seat. Although there was not a settler at Cassopolis when the village was platted in 1831,¹²⁴ this point was the geographical center of the county, a fact which a local lawyer had the foresight to determine; whereupon he purchased sufficient land to cover the site of a village and succeeded in having the county seat removed thither from Geneva where the Territorial legislature had located it when the county was organized.¹²⁵ Cassopolis was thus distinctly a county seat hamlet, and though its growth was very slow the presence of the county seat reacted immediately upon neighboring rural settlement.

In Berrien County, villages were platted at several important points, all on the St. Joseph River. Reference has been made to the founding of Niles in 1829; in 1831, the same year with the separate organization of Berrien County, were laid out the villages of Berrien Springs and St. Joseph.¹²⁶ These villages were on the only considerable open spaces between Bertrand and the mouth of the river. Berrien Springs was on Wolf's Prairie; in the year in which the village was platted a sawmill was built there, and the year immediately

123. *Territorial Laws*, III, 997, 1276.

124. Glover, *History of Cass County*, 145.

125. *Ibid.*, 143-144.

126. Coolidge, *History of Berrien County*, 172, 199. The name of Berrien Springs reflects a physical feature—sulphur and other mineral springs situated on the east bank of the St. Joseph River. *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties* (1880), 280.

following witnessed gradual incursions into the dense forest which surrounded the edges of the prairie.¹²⁷ At St. Joseph, which was laid out and fostered by the Carey Mission teacher, Calvin Britain, village lots sold rapidly and settlement flourished.¹²⁸ Thither the county seat was removed from Niles in 1832, but in 1837 it was transferred to the more central position of Berrien Springs.¹²⁹ St. Joseph appears to have had about a score of families and some twenty dwellings in 1834.¹³⁰ A steam sawmill was in operation and two small steamboats were running on the river, the latter almost indispensable owing to the very bad condition of the roads.¹³¹ The *Detroit Free Press* of October 11, 1832, prophesies for Newburyport (the original name of St. Joseph) great commercial importance as a port for southwestern Michigan, comparing its relations with those of Cincinnati to the Miami country. Northern Indiana seems to have looked to St. Joseph as a natural outlet for its products, if we may judge from the report of a public meeting at St. Joseph in 1832 to petition Congress for a harbor appropriation.¹³²

127. Coolidge, *History of Berrien County*, 198, 202.

128. *Ibid.*, 172.

129. *Ibid.*, 31. It was moved back to St. Joseph in 1894. *Ibid.*, 199.

130. The *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties* (1880), p. 316, credits the village with about twenty-five dwellings at the time it was platted in 1831.

131. Coolidge, *History of Berrien County*, 176.

132. *Detroit Free Press*, Jan. 19, 1832. Congress had appropriated \$5000 in 1831 for a lighthouse at the mouth of the river, and proposals for its building appear in the *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser* for April 27, 1831. See also the same paper for March 30 of that year. For an account of the earliest steamboats on the river see *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties* (1880), 281.

Between St. Joseph and Berrien Springs perhaps half a dozen families had settled by 1834, at various points in slight openings along the river. These river pioneers seem to have been mainly boatmen, who worked on the river boats while awaiting returns from their crops.¹³³ Northward from St. Joseph up the Paw Paw river above the present Coloma, a shingle-mill settlement started in 1833 or 1834, promoted by New Yorkers, to supply the market at St. Joseph.¹³⁴

In some respects the most pretentious village project of the section in this period was that at Bertrand, below Niles, resembling somewhat the experiment made a little earlier at Auburn in Oakland County. This was a speculative venture on a large scale, initiated in 1833 by a joint stock association of persons from New York and Indiana, together with the French trader Joseph Bertrand. The author and chief promoter of the project was a surveyor on the Chicago Road, and it was probably his work which was just nearing completion in Berrien County that attracted his attention to its possibilities. This village of twelve hundred lots covered a plat nearly a mile square on Portage Prairie, at the point where it is crossed by the St. Joseph River.¹³⁵ The site was well chosen and the time was propitious, but the fatal and common mistake was made of holding the lots at too high a figure, which caused settlers to favor Niles.¹³⁶

133. *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties*, 330.

134. Coolidge, *History of Berrien County*, 228. The settlement was known as "Shingle Diggings." It appears to have declined after 1838, due it is said to the exhaustion of material for shingles. *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties* (1880), 340-341.

135. Coolidge, *History of Berrien County*, 206.

136. *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties* (1880), 269.

There was scarcely any settlement away from the main stream of the St. Joseph by 1834, except in a few cases where mill privileges were desired. In 1833 a settler from Vermont came to the site of the village of Buchanan to take advantage of the water power, and several mills were built near by a little later.¹³⁷ From there westward to the site of New Buffalo extended a large forest of valuable timber lands that were taken up largely by mill proprietors living in other parts of the county. The start at New Buffalo in 1834 appears to have been made largely by accident. The story is told of the wreck of a schooner which was driven ashore at the site of Michigan City. Its commander (Wessel Whitaker) in going from there to St. Joseph on horseback along the beach noted the superior advantages for a harbor at the mouth of Galien River and shortly afterward purchased the land there. The site is said to have been visited by many the first year, but the tide soon turned.¹³⁸

It was not until 1834 that the movement of population from the East along the Chicago Road began to be felt to any great extent in Berrien.¹³⁹ In that year the county had a population of 1,787,¹⁴⁰ distributed in four townships.¹⁴¹

The same year which saw so many villages laid out in the southwestern counties witnessed the platting of Branch, the first village in Branch County. The

137. Coolidge, *History of Berrien County*, 213.

138. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 193; *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties* (1880), 271.

139. Coolidge, *History of Berrien County*, 20, 26.

140. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 151.

141. *Territorial Laws*, II, 786; III, 1249, 1276.

founding of this village was similar to that of Cassopolis. In 1831, two years before the county was organized, the question of the probable location of the county seat occurred to a native of Connecticut, who turned it to his advantage promptly. Having determined the geographical center of the county, he purchased a tract covering three-quarters of a square mile, platted a village upon it, and was successful in securing for his village the coveted political importance of the county seat.¹⁴² The site had some natural advantages aside from its central position in the county. Though off the Chicago Road, it was situated pleasantly on high ground which rose from the Coldwater River; the result was that village lots and the neighboring farm land were bought up quickly, and a sawmill and a gristmill were started.¹⁴³ These mills came to be widely patronized and attracted much attention to Branch village; but a struggle for the county seat was at once precipitated by settlers who were interested in the rival village of Coldwater, platted a year later than Branch.¹⁴⁴

The effect of the Chicago Road in concentrating population was strengthened no doubt by the fact that its course lay through some of the choicest open lands of the county.¹⁴⁵ Along this highway lay Coldwater, Snow, and Bronson prairies. On Snow Prairie three miles east of Bronson was one of the oldest settlements

142. Collin, *History of Branch County*, 52-53.

143. *Ibid.*, 51, 53, 54.

144. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VI, 219, 239; *History of Branch County* (1879), 114.

145. Collin, *History of Branch County*, 74-75.

in the county.¹⁴⁶ On the whole, the data inclines one to believe that the prairies were preferred to the openings.¹⁴⁷ In Quincy Township where the Chicago Road passed through an opening which had heavy timber within a few miles on each side, it was 1835 before land was entered beyond the openings; but settlement even in the open strip was slow—only four families had settled there by 1834.¹⁴⁸

The position of the Chicago Road through the central prairies and openings and the location of the first settlements and of the county seat there, account partly for the slowness with which settlement acknowledged the surpassing natural advantages in the northern part of Branch County. The settlement of that part of the county appears to have been more closely connected with Calhoun and Jackson counties than with the rest of Branch. This connection was partly topographical; for example, the northern tier of sections at the northwest corner was a part of Dry Prairie in Calhoun County, which had a number of settlers on the Calhoun side of the boundary in 1832. The early settlement of Sherwood Township in Branch County was an expansion of this colony,¹⁴⁹ though its first settler, after whom the township was named, is said to have come directly from Sherwood Forest in England.¹⁵⁰ One of the reasons for a close relation with the northern

146. *Ibid.*, 45.

147. See the *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser* for June 1, 1831, and June 1, 1832.

148. Collin, *History of Branch County*, 65, 66; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VI, 241.

149. Collin, *History of Branch County*, 82.

150. *Ibid.*, 81.

counties lay in the ease of communication with them. Settlers coming west over the Territorial Road could reach Girard Township from Marshall over the road established to connect the Territorial and Chicago roads at Marshall and Coldwater.¹⁵¹ Branch County was reached from the north at a point just west of Girard by the Washtenaw Trail, which ran from Jackson to White Pigeon, and over which a road was laid out in 1834.¹⁵² The first land entered to the west of Girard was bought in Union Township in 1831 by the founder of the village of Jackson; the first immigration to that township came from Calhoun County.¹⁵³ The dense forest there was for some years a retarding influence, except in the southwestern corner. The earliest settlements were of the sawmill type, forming two early centers of influence, at the junction of the Coldwater River with Hog Creek and with the St. Joseph River. At these points—the sites of Hodunk and Union City—the first settlements were made in 1833, and their mills were widely patronized.¹⁵⁴ The northern part of the county received separate township organization in 1834 under the name of the oldest settlement—Girard.¹⁵⁵

The southern and especially the southeastern parts of the county, having the heaviest forest, were the most backward. Settlement was initiated there about 1832 by a noteworthy venture from Ohio. The leader was the Right Reverend Philander Chase, bishop of

151. *Ibid.*, 75.

152. *Ibid.*, 78.

153. *Ibid.*, 79.

154. Collin, *History of Branch County*, 78, 80.

155. *Territorial Laws*, III, 1276.

Ohio, an uncle of the well known Ohio statesman of the name.¹⁵⁶ Bishop Chase was a native of Cornish, New Hampshire, and a graduate of Dartmouth. A man of high ideals and of missionary spirit, he had come west at an early day, and had been one of the founders of Kenyon College, Ohio, of which he was for many years president. As bishop of Ohio, a disagreement with his constituency caused him to look for a field of work where his ideals could have a better chance. He purposed to seek appointment to the bishopric of Michigan and there to found a new college; his son had settled on Prairie Ronde, in Kalamazoo County, and it is probable that he also intended to try his fortunes there, but while on the way for a visit his attention was arrested by the lands of Branch County. He had taken, instead of the southern route by way of Fort Wayne, the eastern route by way of Monroe, Adrian and the Chicago Road, the route by which the eastern counties gained most of their southern immigration. Following advice which he had received by the way, he branched off from the Chicago Road at Bronson Prairie, and took the Indian trail leading along the banks of Prairie River. The bishop's satisfaction with the place of his choice is shown by the name of Gilead which he gave to the picturesque lakelet of that region and to the neighboring prairie. Though he was disappointed in his hope of obtaining the bishopric of Michigan and as a consequence abandoned the idea of founding a college in Michigan, his temporary residence at Gilead aided the begin-

156. Collin, *History of Branch County*, 69-73; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VI, 221.

ning of settlement in the southern part of the county. Many settlers came in from Marion County, Ohio; but the source most frequently mentioned in histories of the county is Onondaga County, New York. In 1834 Branch County had a population of seven hundred and sixty-four people, distributed in three townships.¹⁵⁷

Progress in the settlement of Hillsdale County between the years 1830 and 1834 was somewhat less than in Branch County. The village of Jonesville, which was laid out in 1831 and made the county seat, was still the sole village in the county¹⁵⁸ and it was not until 1834 that the first stock of goods was put on sale there.¹⁵⁹ Probably the log schoolhouse, twelve by fourteen feet, which was then built, proved for some time a sufficient educational equipment. Almost all the land that was bought in the county lay along the Chicago Road, excepting a little in the valley of Bean Creek where entries were first made in 1833.¹⁶⁰ Considering the small amount of land that was bought in the county it seems hardly probable that the total population had reached five hundred people. The population of the county is not given separately in the Territorial census, but it is probably included in the figures which appear for Lenawee, to which it was attached for judicial pur-

157. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 151; *Territorial Laws*, III, 949, 1276.

158. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 178.

159. Reynolds, *History of Hillsdale County*, 31; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 179.

160. *Historical and Biographical Record of Lenawee County*, II, 23; Hogaboam, *Bean Creek Valley*, 22, 27; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 178, 179.

poses until its organization in 1835. Until then the whole county comprised but one township.¹⁶¹

From 1834 to 1837 this section had a large share in the rapid growth of the Territory. Nowhere was the increase of settlement more pronounced than in the counties of Hillsdale and Branch, where population had been the least in the section up to 1835. In 1837 the population of either county equalled that of Berrien, while together they contained about one-third of all the people in the section. The population of St. Joseph, the most populous county, at the western end, exceeded that of Branch, the least populous, at the east, by a little over two thousand. From the point of view of population and of the section as a whole, settlement was at the close of the period quite equally distributed, but still slightly preponderant in the counties of St. Joseph and Cass.¹⁶²

The distribution of population within the counties at the close of the period, as shown by township organization and by the census of 1837, accords with the general trend described for the earlier time, and was effected by the same agents. Hillsdale and Branch counties showed clearly the influence of the open country and the Chicago Road at the north. Both had small townships with comparatively large populations. In Hillsdale, nearly the entire northern half of the county was divided into townships¹⁶³ six miles

161. *Territorial Laws*, II, 787; III, 1367.

162. The areas of these counties varied, but not enough to affect the purpose of this rough comparison.

163. Township organization, 1835-37; *Territorial Laws*, III, 1367; *Session Laws* (1835-36), 71; *Ibid.* (1837), 39, 40; Census of 1837, *Michigan Legislative Manual* (1838), 71.

square, with an average population of four hundred people, while the southern townships, averaging double the size, had a population no greater. Very probably the township of Fayette, with its long north and south axis, had most of its residents in its northward extension, in the openings near the Chicago Road and about the nascent village of Hillsdale—while Pittsford, in the southeast, undoubtedly owed much to the overflow from Lenawee County into its Bean Creek lands; for instance, between these two the township of Florida, covering two government townships but having no advantages in transportation, openings, or water power to compensate for the difficulties of its heavy forest, contained, all told, only one hundred and fifty-six people, and the remaining southern township of Reading, west of Fayette, affords a similar example. In Branch County there was a more even distribution of small township areas,¹⁶⁴ but the population of those at the south, reflecting the influence of the Gilead settlement, was small. "A country of lakes, but little settled," reports the surveyor of the Southern Railroad in 1837.¹⁶⁵ The most populous townships were on the Chicago Road.

The village population of these counties was slight. Jonesville was still the only important village center in Hillsdale County, but was one of the most important

164. Township organization (1835-37); *Session Laws* (1835-36), 71, 72; *Ibid.*, (1837), 42, 44; *Census of 1837: Michigan Legislative Manual* (1838), 70.

165. *Michigan House Documents*, No. 9 (A), p. 5. He referred in particular to settlement on the line between Hog Creek and the center of Sherman Township in St. Joseph County, and no doubt was speaking comparatively with the eastern counties.

points on the Chicago Road. Four mail routes centered there; from Detroit by the Chicago Road, from Toledo (then called Maumee) by way of Canandaigua in Lenawee County, from Adrian by way of Rollin, and from Marshall by way of Homer. For a very wide area of country it was a center for milling as well as for mail.¹⁶⁶ To judge from the number of its stores, however, it appears not to have been very much larger than Saline or Dexter, in Washtenaw.¹⁶⁷ Its position at some distance from the center of the county caused, as in the case of Tecumseh, a forfeit of the county seat, which was removed to the central village of Hillsdale.¹⁶⁸

Hillsdale village, like Cassopolis and Branch, was a speculative county-seat venture. Though platted in 1835, there appears to have been little there at the close of this period besides "bushes and scenery."¹⁶⁹ The first store, mill, and public inn, appear not to have been built until 1838,¹⁷⁰ when a new impulse came, apparently, from the selection of the village for a station

166. Its first gristmill was completed in 1835. *History of Hillsdale County* (Everts), p. 39, and another in process of building is reported by Blois (1838) in his *Gazetteer*, p. 305.

167. Blois credits it with two groceries and six dry-goods stores. *Gazetteer*, 305.

168. *Session Laws* (1839), 65; (1840), 148; (1843), 10. The possession of the county seat since 1830 added not a little to the prestige of Jonesville.

169. The money for the project appears to have been furnished by parties in Utica, New York, and the village to have been platted by the "Hillsdale Company." *History of Hillsdale County* (1879), 94. A house is said to have been built on the site by a settler in 1834.

170. *History of Hillsdale County* (1879), 95.

on the Southern Railroad;¹⁷¹ in making that point the terminal of the road it was thought that "a better point probably could not have been selected having in view the future interests of the State, being situated on the direct route to Branch, Coldwater, etc., possessing the advantage of good roads at all times, and a central location for business."¹⁷² Blois mentions its situation on the State road from Adrian, and its good water power on a branch of the St. Joseph.¹⁷³

In Branch County there appears to have been a somewhat stronger tendency to concentrate population than in Hillsdale; embryonic villages developed at four or five points, the most noteworthy being Coldwater and Branch. Coldwater shared in the rapid settlement induced by the rich lands of Coldwater Prairie, which lay directly on the Chicago Road. Surrounding this center, an area of six miles square had gathered by 1837 nearly one-fourth of the population of the county.¹⁷⁴ The settlement of the village had been augmented especially by the arrival in 1835 of a considerable colony, including enterprising eastern business men.¹⁷⁵ By 1837 it had quite eclipsed the rival village of Branch and was increasing its efforts to de-

171. The years immediately following are marked by renewed efforts to secure the county seat and the erection of a new hotel. When the railroad reached Hillsdale, in 1843, the county seat was located there, and the Hillsdale County *Gazette*, started at Jonesville in 1839, followed the county seat. *History of Hillsdale County* (1879), 45, 83, 95; *Session Laws* (1843), 10.

172. *Michigan House Documents* (1842), No. 3, p. 48.

173. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 301.

174. Population 960; population of the county, 4,096. *Michigan Legislative Manual* (1838), 70.

175. *History of Branch County* (1879), 115.

prive it of the county seat.¹⁷⁶ The price of land was made low as an inducement to settlers, a newspaper was started by subscription of citizens to compete with the one established at Branch,¹⁷⁷ and the village was incorporated. It is said that the new gristmill, of a better type than that at Branch, absorbed the former custom of the Branch mill and strengthened the power of the village to concentrate population about it.¹⁷⁸

Branch was at its height in 1836-37 after which it rapidly declined and disappeared from the maps of the county; as one writer puts it, "It contained the seeds of death in its prosperity," which was alike true for many aspiring villages of this period in all parts of Michigan; we have seen a striking example in the village of Bertrand in Berrien County, where the high prices of village lots and neighboring lands drove capital and settlers to Niles. It was this policy of speculation in Branch, encouraged by a feeling of security in its more central position and the possession of the county seat, that was a chief influence in building up a rival at Coldwater.¹⁷⁹ The county seat was removed in 1840.¹⁸⁰

176. See the reasons set forth for its removal in *Michigan House Documents*, 1841, No. 1, pp. 60-61. The population of the village is estimated at 800 or 1,000, as compared with 150 for Branch.

177. *The Coldwater Observer; History of Branch County* (1879), 100.

178. Collin, *History of Branch County*, 58; Blois mentions two sawmills but not the gristmill. *Gazetteer*, 266.

179. Collin, *History of Branch County*, 53.

180. *Session Laws* (1840), 56. See reasons for retaining county seat as presented in *Michigan Joint Documents*, 1841, No. 1, p. 58.

Blois credits Branch with only a few families in 1838.¹⁸¹

Another village center belonging to the Coldwater group and illustrating the enterprise of promoters to take advantage of a promising nucleus of population, was the village of Mason, which hoped apparently to profit by the name of the contemporary governor of Michigan. It was about a mile and a half from Coldwater on the Chicago Road, and of about two years growth. Blois mentions two stores in 1838,¹⁸² like Branch its life was early assimilated by Coldwater.

Hardly to be included in this period was the original village nucleus of the future Union City, which like Branch, represents an attempt to foster a village away from the Chicago Road. It was platted in 1837 by a group of promoters operating from New York City whose chief reliance seems to have been the water power at the junction of the Coldwater and the St. Joseph.¹⁸³ It was presumably upon their information

181. *Gazetteer*, 258. He places it three miles from Coldwater in the same township. The files of *The Michigan Star*, its newspaper, would if they could be found, probably illuminate further, from the angle of Branch settlers, the causes of its decline. See *History of Branch County* (1879), 99.

182. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 320. The vicinity of Quincy, which was without a village in 1837, received its first impulse to differentiation from agricultural life by its choice as a station on the Southern Railroad in 1853, when it is said to have had about a dozen dwellings. *History of Branch County* (1879), 182. But the site was occupied in 1835 by influential families originally from New Hampshire and Vermont. The village is said to have received its name from Quincy, Massachusetts, the home of an early settler. *Ibid.*, 178; Collin, *History of Branch County*, 67.

183. Collin, *History of Branch County*, 79. The advantages of the site appear to have been recognized in 1835 by the platting of the earlier village of Goodwinsville. *History of Branch County* (1879), 207.

that Blois confidently places the village "at the proper head of navigation of the St. Joseph;" he mentions a store, a sawmill and a few dwelling houses.¹⁸⁴

In the counties of St. Joseph and Cass the earlier influence of the Chicago Road was still predominant. It appears in the concentration of considerably more than two-thirds of the population of these counties along its course. A contributing influence of growing strength, the prairie village, is suggested by the large proportion of the population of each county in its southwestern corner. In the former this is the village of White Pigeon, in the latter, Edwardsburg. The least settled parts of each county were at the north, and township organization was the most backward in those portions of the northern parts which were adjoining.¹⁸⁵

In the township of White Pigeon, which contained about twenty square miles, were gathered something less than nine hundred people, about two hundred less than were contained in the large township of Sherman, of nearly six times the area, immediately east—this despite its possession of Sturgis Prairie, which was as fertile and almost as large as that about the village of White Pigeon. Sturgis Prairie, if not the center of the population of Sherman Township, probably was comparatively well peopled. "Sturgis and White Pigeon

184. *Gazetteer*, 376. The population of the township (Sherwood), containing the village, was a little over 200. *Michigan Legislative Manual* (1838), 70.

185. *Census of 1837* (for both counties), *Michigan Legislative Manual* (1838), 70, 73; township organization in St. Joseph County, 1835-37; *Session Laws* (1833-36), 75 and *Ibid.* (1837), 40, 41; township organization for Cass County, 1835-37; *Territorial Laws*, III, 1368; *Session Laws* (1835-36), 72, and *Ibid.* (1837), 141.

prairies are highly cultivated," says Harriet Martineau, who passed there in 1836, "and look just like any other rich and perfectly level land."¹⁸⁶ The postoffice of the township is mentioned by Blois as being on the northeastern border of the prairie, though he does not speak of a village of Sturgis.¹⁸⁷ To White Pigeon he accredits five stores, and speaks of the surrounding prairie as "very densely populated." It is significant for the future industry of its vicinity that peppermint and beet-sugar should have been among its products as early as the close of this period, of the former of which it is said to furnish now a large part of the world's supply.¹⁸⁸ The mill village of Mottville, also on White Pigeon Prairie, at the junction of the Chicago Road with the St. Joseph River, had by the census of 1837 a population¹⁸⁹ in its vicinity, taking equal areas, about half that surrounding White Pigeon; which accords with Blois' mention of two stores in the village.¹⁹⁰

A little way up the St. Joseph from Mottville, the township of Constantine showed a population in 1837 somewhat less than that of White Pigeon Township, though its area was about a third greater. But the village of Constantine was a very vigorous rival of White Pigeon;¹⁹¹ it is significant that in his *Gazetteer*

186. *Society in America*, I, 326.

187. *Gazetteer*, 365.

188. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XVIII, 515. An act of 1839 (*Session Laws*, 1839, 156) authorized a loan of \$5,000 to the White Pigeon Beet Sugar Company. See also *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 130.

189. Population of the township of Mottville, 497; of White Pigeon, 872.

190. *Gazetteer*, 329.

191. *Ibid.*, 267.

Blois gives nearly three times the space to a description of Constantine: "Much capital and enterprise," he says, "are enlisted in its improvement." A weekly paper was published, a symbol of great prosperity in a pioneer village, which reports at this time, "Constantine is one of the most flourishing villages in the county, and does the greatest amount of business." A steamboat is said to have plied between it and Lake Michigan, and numbers of "keel boats" were used to carry on trade with all points along the river. Blois reports that a railroad was chartered to connect the village with Niles. It quite overshadowed Mottville directly below it on the river and the Chicago Road. In a *Michigan House Document* of 1837 Constantine is reported, apparently from direct observation, as probably much larger than the three villages of Lockport, Geneva and Cassopolis combined.¹⁹² Its success appears to have been due, apart from its excellent physical advantages of water power, transportation facilities, and fertile farming lands, to the great energy and practical wisdom of its inhabitants.

Still farther up the river, about half way to Centerville, the village of Three Rivers had made respectable progress since its platting in 1835 or 1836.¹⁹³ It was closely associated in its activities with the village of Lockport across the river, with which later on it became united. It is said that this was practically the head of navigation for larger craft on the river and

192. *Michigan House Documents* (1837), No. 9, p. 8.

193. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 417; *History of St. Joseph County*, 140. As platted in 1836 it appears to have included Lockport, yet Blois speaks (1838) of intentions to consolidate the two villages. *Gazetteer*, 313, 374.

that steamboats came up to that point.¹⁹⁴ The relations of the two villages at this site speak well for the desirability of its advantages, and according to Blois considerable capital was being attracted to develop the water power. The comparatively large populations of the townships of Bucks and Nottawa, which in 1837 extended to the center of the county, probably reflect the concentrating influence of Three Rivers and of the county-seat village of Centerville. The *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser* of June 18, 1836, reported this village to be in a very flourishing condition. However, two stores seem to have been sufficient for its trade in 1838, and its importance as the county seat probably explains the location of a branch of the University of Michigan there instead of at White Pigeon.¹⁹⁵ Prairie River supplied power for a sawmill and flourmill, which made it a convenient center for milling over a large area.

In Cass County the comparatively large populations for small areas in the townships of Ontwa, La Grange and Pokagon suggest the influence of the prairies. In the former, about Beardsley's Prairie and the village of Edwardsburg, had gathered over a thousand persons, all told, which was about four hundred less than on the equal area similarly situated in St. Joseph County about the villages of White Pigeon and Mottville.¹⁹⁶ Edwardsburg contained a population not quite equaling that of White Pigeon—to judge from its stores¹⁹⁷—while it had in its own county no near rivals as had

194. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 386-387.

195. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 262.

196. *Michigan Legislative Manual* (1838), 70.

197. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 283.

White Pigeon in Mottville and Constantine; but it was near enough to feel the rivalry of Niles, for like White Pigeon it had no water power and hence lacked the attraction of mills. Its central reliance was the attraction of the prairie and its position on the Chicago Road.¹⁹⁸

The settlement about the county-seat village of Cassopolis appears to have equalled that about Center-ville in St. Joseph County, despite its lack of water power. The village had three stores. The significance of its lack of water power for future growth is seen in the report given in 1837 by the surveyor of the Southern Railroad against Cassopolis as a station, that "people living on the line of the road would have to carry their wheat away to be floured and retransport it to the railroad before they could send it to market."¹⁹⁹ Quite as large as Cassopolis was the village of Whitmanville, about three miles distant on Dowagiac river, having four stores and a sawmill and flouring mill.²⁰⁰

West of Cassopolis about Pokagon Prairie there was a population of about five hundred, though apparently no village, while the population eastward about the Quaker settlement in Penn Township, though less, was larger than elsewhere in the immediate neighborhood. The village of Geneva was situated there, with two stores.²⁰¹ The least settled township was above Pokagon, being the northwest corner township of Silver Creek which contained only about a hundred people.

198. *Ibid.*, 252.

199. *Michigan House Documents* (1837), No. 9, p. 8.

200. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 381.

201. *Ibid.*, 289.

In the opposite corner of the county in Porter Township, on the Chicago Road and near the village of Mottville, were over four hundred people, with a very small nucleus at Porter village.²⁰² Somewhat larger was the village of Adamsville between Porter village and White Pigeon.²⁰³

The distribution of population in Berrien County, as shown by the census of 1837, indicates the greatest density to have been at two points on the St. Joseph River—in the southeast about Niles and Bertrand, which was the region of Carey Mission, and at the mouth of the river in and around St. Joseph village.²⁰⁴

The failure of the speculative venture at Bertrand, owing to the high prices of land, has been alluded to; there were many contributing causes, among which not the least were the rivalry of Niles, the panic, and the severe epidemic of sickness in 1837-38.²⁰⁵ Blois estimates that the population was then about six hundred.²⁰⁶ The census showed 1,262 in the township, which apparently included the village.²⁰⁷ Niles profited by the misfortunes of Bertrand, but it was from

202. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 346.

203. *Ibid.*, 245.

204. Census of 1837, in *Michigan Legislative Manual* (1838), 75; township organization, 1835-37; *Territorial Laws*, III, 1368; *Session Laws* (1835-36), 72; *Ibid.* (1837), 38, 44, 141.

205. It is said that in these years there were not enough well ones to nurse the sick, and that many became discouraged and left. *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties* (1880), 229.

206. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 255. There were six stores.

207. *Michigan Legislative Manual* (1838), 75. For the early settlement of the township, see *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties* (1880), 227-231. See also a sketch of the village in *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXVIII, 129.

the beginning a village of much enterprise. It secured a branch of the University, and it appears to have supported a newspaper as early as 1835.²⁰⁸ Speculators and transients of all sorts as well as settlers seem to have visited there. Harriet Martineau says that she could not learn the exact amount of population "probably because the number is never the same two days together."²⁰⁹ It had eclipsed Bertrand in permanent population by 1837,²¹⁰ and according to Blois was twice as large as its rival.²¹¹ In the fertile farming country of the township containing it, the census records a few less than fifteen hundred people, which, for equal areas, seems to show that the rural population about Bertrand was slightly greater than that around Niles.²¹²

It is said that the first lands in the county to be extensively exploited for agricultural purposes were those of Berrien Township, just above Niles.²¹³ Its population was entirely rural at the close of this period, and for equal areas it was about the same as that of Niles

208. *The Niles Gazette and Advertiser*. See for the early newspapers of Niles, the *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties* (1880), 136-138. A newspaper celebrity of that day appears to have been the namesake of the village, namely the proprietor of *Niles' Weekly Register*, the well known Whig paper published in Baltimore, the favorite paper in the family of a prominent Virginian settler of Niles who bestowed the name of the village.

209. *Society in America*, I, 326.

210. Report of Surveyor of the Southern Railroad in *Michigan House Documents* (1837), No. 9, p. 8.

211. *Gazetteer*, 333.

212. For the early settlement of Niles Township, see the *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties* (1880), 264.

213. For their settlement to 1837, see *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties*, 204-208, and Colidge, *History of Berrien County* (1880), 196.

and Bertrand. Its market and supply depot was just to the west on the St. Joseph at Berrien Springs, where surrounding farms belonged physiographically to Berrien Township rather than to Oronoko,²¹⁴ which was in the main a region of dense forest. Apparently it was the central position of Berrien Springs on the river between St. Joseph and Niles that gained for it the county seat in 1837,²¹⁵ as it contained then only about one hundred people.²¹⁶

The possession of the county seat from 1832 to 1837 doubtless added something to the attractiveness of St. Joseph for settlers and capital, but the real cause of its very rapid growth in wealth and population in the last years of this period was its intrinsic advantages for trade and commerce. According to Blois, it doubled its population in 1836-37, which he estimates at between twelve and fifteen hundred;²¹⁷ though the population of St. Joseph Township as given in the census of 1837 was but 599.²¹⁸ There, also, sanguine expectations are said to have led to speculative prices for village lots and neighboring land, diverting a large number of settlers and a large amount of capital to other places.²¹⁹ It was not really until after the close of this period that traffic on the river began to assume proportions beyond the capacity of keel boats, for

214. The population of Oronoko, which extended from east of the St. Joseph across the county to Lake Michigan, was in 1837, 248.

215. *Session Laws* (1837), 16.

216. *Gazetteer*, 254.

217. *Ibid.*, 369.

218. *Michigan Legislative Manual* (1838), 75.

219. *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties* (1880), 317.

while three steamboats were owned there and sought employment, the shipping is reported by Blois as comparatively trifling.²²⁰ The financial crisis of 1837-38 is said to have been especially disastrous to it, and hence to the growth of the village.²²¹

Its early promise, however, was to be worthily fulfilled within a decade.²²² The first shipment of fruit, a small quantity, was made in 1839.²²³ Blois mentions a national appropriation of \$35,000 to improve the harbor; two thousand feet of wharf had been already built; a bridge was being built over the St. Joseph at a cost of \$15,000, and the village was made the terminal of the Territorial Road and of the projected Central Railroad where stages and trains were to connect with steamboats for Chicago.²²⁴ But population was for some time confined very closely to the water-front, away from which was dense forest. The neighboring township of Benton made no returns either for the

220. *Gazetteer*, 368. Coolidge says that sixty keel-boats were employed on the river by 1840. For the early river traffic see his *History of Berrien County*, 182-184.

221. Coolidge, *History of Berrien County*, 177.

222. See *Michigan Joint Documents* (1847), No. 4, p. 25, for the amount of exports and imports at the port of St. Joseph from Sept. 1, 1845, to Sept. 1, 1846; among the exports—wheat, 263,645½ bu.; flour, 129,338 bbls.; lumber, 1,500,000 ft.; among the imports—merchandise, 3,489,604 lbs; merchandise and furniture, 2,787 bbls.

223. *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties* (1880), 315. The first shipment of peaches from Bainbridge Township (40 bu.) appears to have been made in 1843, grown from trees brought from Livingston County, New York. *Ibid.*, 216.

224. *Michigan House Documents* (1837), No. 9, p. 8; Coolidge, *History of Berrien County*, 38.



FATHER GABRIEL RICHARD

(Sheldon's *Hist. of Mich.*, 205)

Father Richard, Sulpitian priest, was descended from the eloquent Bishop Bossuet of France. From 1798 to 1832 he was a strong influence especially among the French-Canadians in the settlement of Michigan Territory. He brought to Detroit the first printing press used west of the Alleghanies. As Michigan's delegate to Congress in 1823 he was instrumental in securing legislation authorizing the national turnpike between Detroit and Chicago later known as the Chicago Road. He sacrificed his life during the cholera epidemic of 1832, in service to the plague stricken inhabitants of Detroit. See p. 115 (n. 161).

census of 1837 or 1840, and had a population of only 237 in 1845.²²⁵

The few settlers along the river between St. Joseph and Berrien Springs in 1837 are apparently represented in the 175 given in the census for the forested township of Royalton extending from the western boundary of Cass County to Lake Michigan. Blois mentions a village of Royalton, apparently about the size of Berrien Springs, three miles up the St. Joseph between these two points.²²⁶ In general, the lands along the river appear to have received actual settlers several years before the lands back from the river.²²⁷

The attempt to build at New Buffalo a port which should rival St. Joseph had little success until very much later than this period. Blois credits New Buffalo with about four hundred inhabitants in 1838;²²⁸ it is said that in the winter of 1841-42 (or 1842-43) it had but two resident families.²²⁹ Its hope lay, at the beginning, in the capital and enterprise of the Virginia Land Company, which platted a large addition to the original village in 1837, but that was an inauspicious year.²³⁰ The selection of the village for a terminal of

225. *Michigan Legislative Manual* (1846), 43. The village of Benton Harbor was laid out in 1860 at the time of the building of the Benton Harbor Ship Canal to connect it with St. Joseph and the lake. *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties* (1880), 190.

226. *Gazetteer*, 354.

227. *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties* (1880), 237, 307.

228. *Gazetteer*, 351.

229. *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties* (1880), 272; Coolidge, *History of Berrien County*, 223.

230. For the disastrous effect of the financial crisis of that year upon Berrien County as a whole, see Coolidge, *History of Berrien County*, 27-28.

the Southern Railroad was a good advertisement,²³¹ and even before then the spirit of speculation had brought a number of enterprising settlers to the site in 1835-36, stimulated by the personal influence of Captain Whitaker, who had platted the village in 1835.²³² He is said to have come from Hamburg, in western New York, and to have interested a number of associates from that place. In 1836, it is said, seventy-nine lots in different parts of the village were valued at \$29,520.²³³ In that year the village was incorporated and in the following year residents of LaPorte, Indiana, mainly natives of Virginia, brought their capital in aid of the project.²³⁴ The site was similar to that of St. Joseph, being on the lake shore some twenty miles below that point, but it was not on high land, like that which made for the health and beauty of St. Joseph. The panic of 1837 brought its depressing effects, and it was not until the building of the railroads and the development of the back country that real growth there began.

The effect of dense forest on settlement is well illustrated by the scantiness of population between New Buffalo and the vicinity of Niles and Bertrand. The three townships of New Buffalo, Weesaw and Buchanan, covering that area, contained according to the census of 1837 less than five hundred people. Some twenty-seven families appear to be represented in the 172 people given for Buchanan Township²³⁵ of

231. *Michigan House Documents* (1837), No. 9, p. 8.

232. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 125; II, 193; act to organize the village, *Session Laws* (1835-36), 184.

233. *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties* (1880), 272.

234. *Ibid.*, 272, 275; Coolidge, *History of Berrien County*, 221, 225.

235. *Ibid.*, 177.

whom the large portion probably were in the neighborhood of the mill at the site of Buchanan. Apparently a village was not platted there, however, until 1842.²³⁶ Westward from Buchanan extended the "Galien woods" along the river of that name. The settlement of this tract was very slow until after 1850, as the lands generally were not bought by farmers until part of the timber had been cut off. This was partly accomplished by the mills, but the market for cord wood and lumber created by the building of the Central Railroad hastened the process of clearing.²³⁷ Much of the land in Weesaw Township seems originally to have been low and marshy, and the timbered land is said to have been mainly held by nonresidents until about 1850.²³⁸ The surveyor of the line of the Southern Railroad reported in 1837 that "the country from New Buffalo to St. Joseph on either the northern or southern route is generally of a low, moist, alluvial soil, densely forested and entirely unsettled except in the vicinity of Niles."²³⁹

Settlers came to this section by two different movements of immigration, and its early population is therefore somewhat varied. The earliest accession of population to St. Joseph, Cass and Berrien counties appears to have come intermediately from Ohio and Indiana, and in less numbers from Kentucky and Tennessee; in

236. *Ibid.*, 180; Coolidge, *History of Berrien County*, 216. The village takes its name from James Buchanan, prominent at the time of its platting.

237. *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties* (1880), 333.

238. Coolidge, *History of Berrien County*, 252-253. For the settlement of the township in this period see the *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties* (1880), 353-355.

239. *Michigan House Documents* (1837), No. 9, (A), p. 8.

many cases it seems to have been either by birth or descent traceable to the South Atlantic States, particularly Virginia and the Carolinas. "We find it stated in a Southern paper," says an editorial on "The St. Joseph" in the *Northwestern Journal* (Detroit) of December 2, 1829, "that not less than eight thousand individuals have passed through Charleston, Kenawha County, Virginia. They were principally from the lower part of that State and South Carolina, bound for Indiana, Illinois and Michigan." In June, 1836, Harriet Martineau saw in southeastern Berrien County "a fine specimen of a settler's family," which "like many others" were from the Southern states. "I was not surprised," she adds, "to find all emigrants from North and South Carolina well satisfied with the change they had made."²⁴⁰

In some parts of the section there was a population which tended to develop early an active antislavery sentiment. This feature was specially marked in Cass County. The name of Penn Township in that county suggests the presence of Pennsylvania Quakers. In 1829 a settlement was made in that township on Young's Prairie by Quakers from Butler and Preble counties, Ohio, destined to increase and become later a prominent station on the "underground railroad."²⁴¹ The presence of the Quakers attracted fugitive slaves later, and it was the Quakers who made Cass County a favorite resort for free Negroes.²⁴²

240. *Society in America*, I, 330.

241. Glover, *History of Cass County*, 48, 108; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 281, n. 5. *Ibid.*, 287-289.

242. Cass early had the largest Negro population of any Michigan county, which it has still.

Some Pennsylvania-Dutch appear in the section in this period, though they came in greater numbers after 1840. A few of these families made a settlement near the close of the period in what later became Noble Township, Branch County.²⁴³ Later they became much more prominent in Berrien County, especially in Bertrand and Oronoko townships.²⁴⁴

Many of the Pennsylvanians and Virginians appear to have been of Scotch-Irish descent, whose ancestors began coming in the eighteenth century to America owing to the English tariff on the linen industry, which affected especially the north of Ireland.²⁴⁵

The movement of population from the East, particularly from New York, began to make itself felt in the section about 1830. Western New York was the main source of population of Branch and Hillsdale counties in this period, though many of these New Yorkers were natives of some eastern State. Collin, in his *History of Branch County*, gives a number of apt illustrations of these sources.²⁴⁶ The blending of the two movements in northern St. Joseph County about this time appears in the many settlers from Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio.²⁴⁷ Berrien County was not materially affected by the eastern sources until about 1834.²⁴⁸

Of the foreign element, mention is made in the *Northwestern Journal* of September 15, 1830, of an

243. Collin, *History of Branch County*, 89.

244. Coolidge, *History of Berrien County*, 26, 210.

245. *Ibid.*, 146.

246. p. 37.

247. *History of St. Joseph County* (1877), 156.

248. Coolidge, *History of Berrien County*, 20, 26.

accession of Englishmen to the St. Joseph region. This nucleus may have comprised those found by Hoffman in 1833 at White Pigeon, who, he says, were of a respectable class and quite popular with the Americans.²⁴⁹ He notes as a national characteristic their attempt to introduce live hedges in place of fences on their prairie farms. A Canadian-French family is said to have been the first which settled in Bainbridge Township in the north of Berrien County.²⁵⁰ A number of French-Canadians from Lower Canada appear to have been taken by a speculator to settle at the mouth of the St. Joseph.²⁵¹ The large German immigration to Berrien County, so conspicuous in Bainbridge Township and in Flowerfield Township in St. Joseph County, did not come until considerably later than this period.²⁵²

249. Hoffman, *A Winter in the West*, I, 219.

250. *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties* (1880), 214.

251. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 200.

252. Beginning about 1840, but greatly augmented after 1848. *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties* (1880), 220, 295; Coolidge, *History of Berrien County*, 27, 247; *History of St. Joseph County* (1877), 194.

CHAPTER VI

KALAMAZOO VALLEY AND TERRITORIAL ROAD

THE priority of settlement in the St. Joseph Valley as compared with that in the valley of the Kalamazoo is explained largely by the greater closeness of the former section to Ohio and Indiana and by its position on a trail whose course was deemed the more favorable for a national military road. The difference in the relation of the Chicago and Washtenaw trails respectively to the St. Joseph and Kalamazoo rivers was sufficient to affect settlement in some degree. The Chicago Trail was in most of its course independent of the main stream of the St. Joseph River, fixing the position of a line of settlements somewhat apart from it, while the Washtenaw Trail followed rather closely the course of the Kalamazoo, combining with it for much of its course and forming with it a single line of influence upon settlement.

The physiographic factors which conditioned the settlement of these sections were alike in nature and in some respects in distribution. In each section an undulating surface was drained by a large central stream; there was a rich soil covered with dense forest, openings and prairies, and many lakelets, springs, marshes and creeks. On the east a common watershed separated them from the first inland counties; the sources

of their principal streams were close together in the morainal formation in Hillsdale County, and they shed their water westward into Lake Michigan. The physiographic unity of these sections lay in a common glacial origin. The differences of environment, in so far as they differentiated settlement at all, were in surface irregularity, in marsh land and in forest.

The surface of the Kalamazoo section was sufficiently undulating to give ample water power and drainage; however, it was nowhere so high and uneven as that of Branch and Hillsdale counties in the section below. Scarcely any part of it could be said to be hilly. Calhoun and Kalamazoo counties, level like Cass and St. Joseph—of which geologically they were a continuation—were broken only by slight elevations such as those in the townships of Sheridan and Texas.¹ Nowhere in the Kalamazoo Valley was there a dense forest so continuous over a large area as that in southern Branch and Hillsdale, though the section contained much land of a marshy formation, in particular in Jackson County. The marsh land and the lakelets were practically the only waste surface. The marsh land of the section was considerable, yet it covered in the aggregate only a small portion of the entire area.² The land north of the city of Kalamazoo covered at present by celery beds is said to have been in the days

1. *History of Calhoun County* (1877), 37, 142; *History of Kalamazoo County* (1880), 536; Blois, *Gazetteer*, 211, 223.

2. "In Kalamazoo County there were still in 1880 some fifteen thousand acres of marsh land; but much of the original marsh has now been reclaimed throughout the section." *History of Kalamazoo County* (1880), 57.

of the first settlers an impassable tamarack swamp.³ The marshy surface called the "wet prairie," a characteristic feature of Jackson County, was generally easy to drain.⁴ On the whole, the marsh land was distributed widely in small areas along the margins of many of the lakes, and quite commonly along the creeks.⁵ Their neighborhood was chosen sometimes by settlers for the sake of the wild hay, to supply stock through the first winters. Sickness frequently followed in these places, which the pioneers referred to the apparent fact that even running water, and the water of the springs, was impregnated with malaria.⁶ There were a few extensive swamps, and some of these, hemmed in by dense forest, made areas that were likely to be very slowly settled—for example, Lee Township in Calhoun County, which had but fifty-nine inhabitants as late as 1840.⁷ In places the swamps were a serious obstacle to transportation, as along the Territorial Road. In a letter of 1831 describing a trip from Ann Arbor to Calhoun County on that road, a writer states that a party of nine immigrants had to wade knee-deep through marsh a distance of eighty rods with their goods on their backs, and then were compelled to work two hours to extricate one of the oxen from the mud.⁸

3. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XIV, 273.

4. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 224.

5. *History of Kalamazoo County*, 395, 417, 427; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 223.

6. Hoffman, *A Winter in the West*, I, 193, 194.

7. *U. S. Census* (1840), 437; *History of Calhoun County*, 113; *History of Kalamazoo County*, 292; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 233.

8. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 195.

On every hand there was the characteristic lakelet. In one area six miles square there were seven of these of considerable size, and this seems not to have been exceptional.⁹ In Kalamazoo County the water surface covered ten thousand acres.¹⁰ The attractiveness of the larger lakes in later times is shown by their having become well known summer resorts,¹¹ and the way in which the settlers regarded them measures the relative strength of certain of their motives in choosing their lands. For beauty and healthfulness many of the lakes could not be surpassed. Often they were fed by springs of pure water, which were very numerous in the section. Their shores were often natural parks. A letter written from Marshall in 1833 by a visitor passing through Calhoun County contains excellent testimony to their attractiveness, and it is somewhat surprising to find that they were not stronger considerations with settlers. The writer says that "for general healthfulness of situation, I believe it is agreed that the banks of the small lakes which so abound in the peninsula are—when these transparent bodies of water are surrounded by a sand beach, which is the case with about a third of them—among the healthiest. They are fed generally by the springs, and in many cases are supposed to have a subterranean outlet; while so beautifully transparent are their waters that the canoe suspended on their bosom seems to float in mid-air. These lakes abound with fish; and in some of

9. In the present Pavilion Township, Kalamazoo County. *History of Kalamazoo County*, 417.

10. *Ibid.*, 57. Only the present Wakeshma Township contained no lakes. See *Ibid.*, 544.

11. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 352.

them, of only a few acres in extent, fish have been taken of forty pounds weight. They generally lie imbosomed in the oak openings, and with their regular and almost formal banks crowned with open groves these silver pools might be readily taken for artificial trout-ponds in a cultivated park. I need hardly add that it is necessary to diverge, as I have, from the route generally traveled, to see these scenic gems, so numerous, lonely, and beautiful. Not one in a hundred has a settler on its banks."¹²

Reported instances are not lacking of the direct influence of these lakes in inducing settlement, though beauty of environment needed to be combined, usually, with other advantages. Clark's Lake in southeastern Jackson County, it is said, early attracted settlers for its beauty.¹³ The first settler in Kalamazoo County, Basil Harrison, settled on the banks of Harrison Lake on Prairie Ronde.¹⁴ The letter above quoted bears witness also to the sentiment of natural religion to which the beauty of these lakes must have appealed in those who beheld them in their original state.¹⁵

There is much evidence, however, that the settler did not allow aesthetic or religious sentiment, or even proper care of health, to stand in the way of his immediate material prosperity. The writer of the above letter says, speaking of the prevailing causes of sickness in Michigan, "As for the sickness which always prevails more or less among the new settlers, to one

12. Hoffman, *A Winter in the West*, I, 194. This was early in the settlement of the section.

13. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IV, 277; *History of Jackson County*, 778.

14. *History of Kalamazoo County*, 436.

15. Hoffman, *A Winter in the West*, I, 195-196.

who is aware of their imprudences the wonder is that the majority of them escape with their lives.”¹⁶ He gives several common examples—among them, settlement in the vicinity of marshes. The settlement at the boggy site of Jackson village illustrates the preponderant weight of economic motives.¹⁷

The soil of this section was uniformly fertile, varying from a sandy to a clayey loam.¹⁸ Along the Kalamazoo River the rich alluvium of the bottom lands in places reached from a half mile to a mile in width on each side of the river.¹⁹ The richness of the soil in the neighborhood of Kalamazoo village became known early and stimulated settlement there. In 1833 a settler on the Washtenaw Trail in Calhoun County, on being asked about the soil of his farm, characterized it as “a pretty good gravelly loam of eighteen inches,” but he thought something of moving off to Kalamazoo, “where they have it four feet deep and so fat that it will grease your fingers.”²⁰ The clay in the soil in some parts of the section was sufficient for the manufacture of bricks.²¹ Excellent building material was furnished to the hand of the settler also in beds of sandstone and limestone.²²

The soil of the prairies is well represented by the rich black loam of Prairie Ronde,²³ or of Toland

16. *Ibid.*, I, 193.

17. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 274.

18. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 216, 224.

19. *History of Kalamazoo County*, 351, 486; Blois, *Gazetteer*, 211.

20. Hoffman, *A Winter in the West*, I, 184.

21. *History of Kalamazoo County*, 351.

22. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 212, 216, 224. These resources were not much used as early as this.

23. *History of Kalamazoo County*, 435.

Prairie, consisting in the latter of a vegetable mould a foot in thickness.²⁴ From the point of view of timber the prairies were little oases embowered in the forest, which in their vicinity was usually not dense, and whose margin furnished a convenient shelter for the settler's cabin.²⁵

This marginal location was the characteristic way of beginning settlement on the prairies. For instance, a graduate of Amherst settled in 1830 at the southern end of Prairie Ronde, of whose farm of seven hundred and twenty acres the greater part was prairie and included marginal timber, in the shelter of a projecting tongue of which he built his cabin.²⁶ On the edge of a little island of timber near the center of Prairie Ronde grew up the village of Schoolcraft.²⁷ The preference of settlers for prairie over timbered land is shown by the early entries at Prairie Ronde, where nearly all of the prairie land, amounting to thirteen thousand acres, was taken up before the neighboring timber, except along the margin.²⁸ The same was true on other prairies.²⁹ This preference for prairie land may be understood when it is considered, for example, that on Prairie Ronde a straight furrow might be plowed for eleven miles without striking stick or stone.³⁰ Moreover, all of the prairies were well drained,

24. *Ibid.*, 351.

25. *Ibid.*, 324, 351, 457; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XI, 234.

26. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XI, 235.

27. *History of Kalamazoo County*, 702.

28. *Ibid.*, 435.

29. *History of Calhoun County* (1877), 941; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XVIII, 554.

30. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XVIII, 578.

some of them by streams which afforded very good water power, as at Vicksburg and Homer.³¹

Kalamazoo and Calhoun counties were preeminently the prairie counties of this section. Their position was midway in a prairie region which extended northeasterly from Indiana and Ohio and continued into Barry and Eaton counties, a physiographic and geologic unity which had its counterpart in unity of early prairie settlement.

The number, extent, and distribution of the prairies in Kalamazoo County insured a strong foothold to settlement there as soon as immigration should begin. Its eight largest prairies covered together twenty-one thousand acres, about one-eighth of the area of the county. Two-thirds of this area lay just above the southern boundaries,³² and it was an easy step from Little Prairie Ronde and Nottawa-sepe, respectively in Cass and St. Joseph; the distance was slight from Big Prairie Ronde and Gourdneck Prairie in Kalamazoo County to the other prairies, which were grouped mainly near the Kalamazoo River.³³ This assured easy interrelations of settlement.

As in the St. Joseph Valley so in this section, immigration entered by two streams, one from the south and another from the east. The first settlers, who came in 1828-29, were a part of that northward move-

31. *Ibid.*, II, 209; *History of Kalamazoo County*, (1880), 435, 457, 502; *History of Calhoun County*, (1877), 121.

32. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 225; *History of Kalamazoo County* (1880), 502. An interesting description of Prairie Ronde is given by Cooper in *Oak-Openings*, Chapter XIX.

33. *History of Kalamazoo County* (1880), 287, 324, 351, 407, 457; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, 479.

ment of population which brought the first settlers to St. Joseph and Cass counties; some of the earliest immigrants to the Kalamazoo had first settled in those counties; the earliest settler on Gourdneck Prairie, originally from Fairfield County, Ohio, is said to have first settled on Young's Prairie in Cass County.³⁴

The impulse to move westward into Kalamazoo County appears to have been felt very early in the eastern part of Michigan. In 1826, just after the opening of the Erie Canal, there appeared in the *Detroit Gazette*, the report of John Mullet, United States surveyor, about the lands on "the rivers St. Joseph and Canamazoo," in which he mentions the large prairies and the numerous other advantages of soil, timber and water in what was to be Kalamazoo County.³⁵ Settlement was then pushing westward over Washtenaw County and in the following year began to find its way along the Chicago Road into Hillsdale and Branch counties. Among the first settlers of Prairie Ronde, Grand, Climax, Gull, and Genesee prairies, there were many from the eastern part of the Territory.³⁶ The first white settler of Genesee Prairie, formerly of Huron County, Ohio, had resided for some time in St. Clair County, Michigan.³⁷

Former Ypsilanti and Ann Arbor settlers were the first to locate on Toland Prairie.³⁸ Washtenaw appears

34. *History of Kalamazoo County* (1880), 506.

35. *Detroit Gazette*, Feb. 14, 1826.

36. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 207; V, 375; VII, 483; XVIII, 596; *History of Kalamazoo County* (1880), 409.

37. *History of Kalamazoo County* (1880), 409; The earliest settler there is said to have been a Negro named Harris. *Ibid.*, 410; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 209; XVIII, 598.

38. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VII, 479.

to have been more largely represented than any other eastern Michigan county, partly because of its position on the Territorial Road directly east of "the Kalamazoo country;" but the earliest westward movement of population to Kalamazoo County appears to have been consequent rather upon the attention which settlements in Cass and St. Joseph counties drew to this region.³⁹

A characteristic group of immigrants illustrating elements in the population is described in a traveler's letter written in 1833 from Prairie Ronde. Mention is made of "a long-haired 'hooshier' from Indiana a couple of smart looking 'suckers' from the southern part of Illinois, a keen-eyed leather-belted 'badger' from the mines of Wisconsin, and a sturdy yeoman-like fellow, whose white capot, Indian moccasins, and red sash proclaimed, while he boasted a three years' residence, the genuine Wolverine, or naturalized Michiganian. . . . The spokesman was evidently a 'red horse' from Kentucky, and nothing was wanting but a 'buck-eye' from Ohio to render the assemblage as complete as it was select. . . . 'From the eastern side, stranger?' said another to me, 'I am told it is a tolerable frog pasture. Now here the soil's so deep one can't raise any long sarce—they all get pulled through the other side. We can winter our cows, however, on wooden clocks, there's so many Yankees among us.' "⁴⁰

39. One of the earliest newspaper descriptions of the "burr oak openings and beautiful rich prairies" of Kalamazoo County is contained in the *Detroit Free Press* of Sept. 13, 1832, quoting the *St. Joseph Beacon*.

40. Hoffman, *A Winter in the West*, I, 210, 212.

The mingling of these two currents of immigration in the first prairie settlements is illustrated by three colonies founded in 1830. One in the southern part of the county on Prairie Ronde, was known as "Virginia Corners;"⁴¹ a second, on the same prairie, was from Windsor, Vermont;⁴² and in the northern part of the county above Kalamazoo River an Ohio colony of twenty-four people settled on Gull Prairie.⁴³ In 1830-31 Genesee Prairie, just west from Kalamazoo village, began to receive settlers from Genesee County, New York, for which the prairie was named. By 1831 all of the eight larger prairies of Kalamazoo County had received their first settlers both from the East and from the South, though the southern element was predominant. Many who had come from the South were natives of eastern states, and many who came from eastern Michigan had sojourned in Ohio. It is probable that many of the latter immigrants to the county were drawn thither either by information from friends or relatives in Ohio or through direct knowledge of the Ohio settlements in the "Kalamazoo country."

The several steps in migrating to the county from New England and from states southward are typically illustrated in the careers of two founders of the first settlement on Prairie Ronde, Basil Harrison and Erastus Guilford. Basil Harrison, who was born in

41. *History of Kalamazoo County*, (1880), 504.

42. *Ibid.*, 516, 517; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XIV, 273.

43. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 207. This colony is mentioned in the *Northwestern Journal* of June 30, 1830, as coming from Hudson, Ohio, and their settlement is called Geloster. This appears to be the original nucleus of the village of Geloster in Richmond Township, mentioned in *Blois' Gazetteer*, p. 289, as "commenced in 1833."

Frederick County, Maryland, and who in early life was a resident of Virginia and later of Pennsylvania, in 1810 migrated to Kentucky, thence to Clark County, Ohio, and came to Michigan in 1828, by way of Fort Wayne.⁴⁴ Erastus Guilford was a native of Northampton, Massachusetts; he emigrated in early life to Ohio, and thence to Ypsilanti; failing to operate a distillery successfully there he returned to Ohio, but he determined to try his fortunes again in Michigan, and entering the Territory by way of Monroe and the Chicago Road, he settled near Harrison on Prairie Ronde, in 1829.⁴⁵ Illustrations could be multiplied. The great majority of the early settlers of this county, as of most Michigan counties, made several halts on their way from their native towns. The New Englanders very frequently settled for a time in New York State; Southerners very often first settled in Kentucky and Tennessee; settlers from Pennsylvania and Maryland were most likely to stop for a time in Ohio or Indiana, and often in Illinois.

Prairie settlement in Calhoun County varied in several respects from that in Kalamazoo. The prairies were smaller, less numerous, and not so well distributed; they attracted a comparatively small share of the southern immigration and were settled later, mainly from the East. The most of Calhoun's prairie land was in the west, excepting Cook's Prairie, which covered a considerable area in the southeast. In the vicinity of Battle Creek was Goguac Prairie, of fair size. Directly south across the county was Dry

44. *History of Kalamazoo County* (1880, 436-439; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 207; VII, 481; XVIII, 17.

45. *History of Kalamazoo County* (1880), 441.

Prairie, which extended into Branch. Their settlement was begun in 1831-32.⁴⁶ It was slightly preceded by several river settlements in 1830-31,⁴⁷ one of them at Marshall; the land on these prairies, however, was eagerly bought up. On Dry Prairie fourteen hundred and forty acres were entered by actual settlers in one day.⁴⁸ The land of Goguac Prairie was all bought up before that on the river in the neighboring openings.⁴⁹ All of the prairies had early a considerable number of settlers,⁵⁰ mainly from New York and Vermont.⁵¹ In 1832 a settlement began near Homer village which attracted Pennsylvanians.⁵² There were many New Yorkers among them; the village of Homer was named from Homer in Cortland County, New York,⁵³ and Clarendon Township containing a portion of Cook's Prairie was named by settlers from Clarendon, Orleans County, New York.⁵⁴ The first settler on that prairie, though immediately from Washtenaw, was formerly from Cayuga County, New York.⁵⁵

Elsewhere in the section the prairies were too few and too small to form an important factor in the beginnings of settlement, but wherever prairie land was found it was certain to be entered at an early date.

46. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 209; III, 347; *History of Calhoun County* (1877), 80, 134, 186.

47. *Ibid.*, I, 129; II, 235.

48. *Ibid.*, II, 209.

49. *History of Calhoun County* (1877), 941.

50. *Ibid.*, 94; Collin, *History of Branch County*, 81.

51. *History of Calhoun County* (1877), 116, 135, 186; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, V, 272-293, *passim*.

52. *History of Calhoun County* (1877), 121.

53. *Ibid.*, 121.

54. *Ibid.*, 186.

55. *Ibid.*, 186.

Allegan and Van Buren counties had practically no prairie land excepting a corner of Little Prairie Ronde in Van Buren just over the boundary from Cass County.⁵⁶ Van Buren received its first settlers upon this land in 1829, from Scioto County, Ohio.⁵⁷ In Jackson County the "wet prairie" land not infrequently attracted settlers who were interested in stock-raising, its southwestern part being first settled largely for the advantages of these natural meadows.⁵⁸

Next to the prairie land the oak openings and the burr-oak plains were the settler's preference, not so much for the sake of the soil as for their relative openness as compared with much of the forested area, which made for ease of travel and immediate cultivation. The plains covered about a quarter of Jackson County, and the rest of its area was largely oak openings, of a piece with those of northern Hillsdale.⁵⁹ The most of Calhoun was covered with burr- and white-oak openings,⁶⁰ as was also fully two-thirds of Kalamazoo County.⁶¹ Cooper's *Oak-Openings* commemorates this feature of the timbered land in the Kalamazoo Valley.⁶²

56. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 224, 242.

57. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 630; V, 149; XXXVIII, 638. He came by way of Pokagon Prairie in Cass County.

58. *Ibid.*, IV, 277. A convenient secondary survey of the topography and geology of Jackson County is given in the *History of Jackson County* (1881), 117-128.

59. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 224.

60. *Ibid.*, 216.

61. *Ibid.*, 225.

62. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 271, 307. Much of the action takes place in Kalamazoo County. A characteristic song of pioneer days, reprinted from the *Centennial Record of Michigan* in the *History of Allegan and Barry Counties*

The beauty of these plains and openings in summer must have been most pleasing to the settlers, whose reminiscences describe them variously as being like "a sea of grass and flowers," or like "a vast field of ripe grain, with here and there an orchard."⁶³ Even in winter these plains had their charms. A traveler in Calhoun County writes: "But, lost as I was, I could not help pausing frequently when I struck the first burr-oak opening I had ever seen, to admire its novel beauty. It looked more like a pear-orchard than anything else to which I can assimilate it—the trees being somewhat of the shape and size of fullgrown pear trees, and standing at regular intervals apart from each other on the firm level soil, as if planted by some gardener. Here, too, I first saw deer in herds; and half frozen and weary as I was, the sight of these spirited-looking creatures sweeping in troops through these interminable groves, where any eye could follow them for miles over the smooth snowy plain, actually warmed and invigorated me, and I could hardly refrain from putting the rowels into my tired horse, and launching after the noble game."⁶⁴

In the same letter, commenting upon the compara-

62. *Con.* (1880), p. 27, note, after eulogizing various parts of Michigan adds about Kalamazoo:

But of all the darndest countries
Beneath the shining sun,
Old Kalamazoo can take the rag
When all the rest are done.
There in the burr-oak openings,
Big Matcheebeenashewish
Raised double crops of corn and beans
And ate them with his fish.

63. *Ibid.*, II, 194, 256.

64. Hoffman, *A Winter in the West*, I, 183.

tive ease of cultivating the plains and openings and upon the general neglect of them for the prairies, the writer exclaims: "What a country this is. Into land like this, which is comparatively undervalued by those seeking to settle on the prairie a man can run his plow without felling a tree; and, planting a hundred acres, where he would clear but ten in the unsettled districts of New York, raise his twenty-five bushels of wheat to an acre in the very first season."⁶⁵ To this latter fact, among other reasons, is undoubtedly owing the large immigration from the State of New York. In the *Detroit Courier* for November 6, 1833, a correspondent describing the environment of Calhoun County extols its burr-oak plain above the prairies westward on account of the greater nearness to plentiful water power and timber.

The heavily timbered lands were settled much more slowly, as for example Newton Township in Calhoun County, which though it was just off the Territorial Road had no buyers until 1833, when purchases were still made only in small amounts;⁶⁶ it did not have a settler until 1834. The most important woods of the section were oak, beech, maple, ash, basswood, white-wood, butternut and black walnut.⁶⁷ These varieties, except the latter, were abundant in all parts of these counties. Allegan and Van Buren had much valuable pine, of which the names of Pine Creek and Pine Grove Township are reminiscent. The "Pine Creek neighborhood," near the junction of that stream with

65. *Ibid.*, I, 183.

66. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 244.

67. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 242; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, V, 407.

the Kalamazoo, made its beginnings of settlement about 1831, consisting mainly of preparations to cut off the pine along the creek. Under the name of New Rochester, or Sherwood's Mills, so-called from their owner who came from Rochester, New York, the place was for some time a vigorous rival of the villages on the plains; but its fate was decreed by the financial crisis of 1837.⁶⁸ In the pine lands of Van Buren County, while the timber was a valuable asset to settlement in the openings there was little agricultural development for a decade after this period. Pine Grove Township appears to have had but thirty voters in 1849.⁶⁹

Lumbering on a small scale for local consumption was an important early industry. It was much facilitated by an abundance of water power, which was well distributed throughout the section on the main streams and tributaries of the Kalamazoo, the St. Joseph, the Grand and the Paw Paw rivers.⁷⁰

The water power of the Kalamazoo made that river the great central agent of settlement for the entire section. Where the power was especially good, as at Albion, Marshall, Battle Creek, Kalamazoo and Allegan, there early began that process of centralizing population which has made cities at those points. The

68. Thomas, *History of Allegan County*, 36, 40, 42, 43; Blois, *Gazetteer*, 361.

69. *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties* (1880), 521, 522; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 295.

70. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 216, 304; *History of Calhoun County* (1877), 105, 134; *History of Kalamazoo County* (1880), 351, 435, 486, 502, 523.

river takes its rise in the springs and lakes of Hillsdale.⁷¹ Entering this section across the southwestern corner of Jackson County it keeps westward somewhat above the center of the section until it reaches a point a little west of Kalamazoo, where it bends northward through Allegan County. In places its channel is quite deep, as near Kalamazoo, where the surface of the river is a hundred feet below the surface of the surrounding country.⁷² The uniformity of its volume is due to many feeding springs and equalizing lakes and marshes which prevent low water from drought, or devastation of the neighboring country in flood time.⁷³ The power of its current being practically constant, settlements could with few exceptions be made close to its banks without fear of floods. The deep black alluvial soil, sometimes two miles in width, characterizing much of the bottom lands, insured quick and abundant returns for a minimum expenditure of labor.⁷⁴ Only one prairie lay immediately on its banks, but several were within a short distance, near enough to help create and foster flourishing river settlements. Its course was skirted with a great variety of lands, open, marshy, or heavily timbered—a variety found often within a small area.⁷⁵ Its lower course for fifty miles inland from Lake Michigan was serviceable for navigation by flat-boats, barges and canoes, and small

71. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 272.

72. *History of Kalamazoo County* (1880), 287.

73. *Ibid.*, 57.

74. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 211; *History of Kalamazoo County* (1880), 351.

75. *History of Kalamazoo County* (1880), 351, 395, 396.

steamboats were tried in the early days with a degree of success.⁷⁶

Though the Kalamazoo and its branches formed the main agent of drainage and water power in the section, its influence was supplemented by other large streams. In Van Buren County the Paw Paw River, a large branch of the St. Joseph, gave good water power, and the main stream was boatable for small craft for a distance of seventy miles from its mouth, about a mile above the village of St. Joseph.⁷⁷ By the close of this period many of its mill sites had been improved. One of them explains partly the location of Paw Paw village, which is said to have been platted in 1833 by speculators from Prairie Ronde and from the Mohawk Valley in New York.⁷⁸ It was at the junction with the Territorial Road to St. Joseph, and profited by the travel; besides its mills, it had three stores in 1838.⁷⁹ Other nascent villages on the branches of

76. *Ibid.*, 57, 168. For the early river traffic on the Kalamazoo see also Thomas, *History of Allegan County*, 33, 34, 55, 57; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 282; XVIII, 591; XXVII, 290; *Michigan House Documents*, No. 9, (D), 43 and No. 9, (G), 70.

77. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 242, 338. Before the Michigan Central Railroad, flat-boating on the Paw Paw River was quite extensive, but not profitable. It is said that in 1840 two large flat-boats built at Paw Paw were loaded with flour for St. Joseph, but that the trip took so long and met so many difficulties from shoals and snags as to be hardly more profitable than wagon transportation. Early efforts to make the river more navigable had little success. *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties*, 505.

78. *Ibid.*, 506.

79. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 338. The county seat was located there in 1840. *Session Laws (1840)*, 36.

the Paw Paw were at Van Buren,⁸⁰ Lafayette,⁸¹ and Lawrence. The latter was an interesting speculation, made in 1835 by one of the founders of Ann Arbor (John Allen) on Brush Creek, who built a mill there in 1836; but it had less than a dozen families after nearly a decade of growth.⁸² Other branches of the St. Joseph drained no small portion of this section, as much as three-eighths of Kalamazoo, illustrating again the physiographic unity of the sections. The power on the Black River seems not to have been used until later than this period. The site of the village of Bangor on that stream is said to have received its first settler in 1837;⁸³ and the mouth of the stream, though commercially favored, received little attention until 1852 when South Haven was platted.⁸⁴ The larger portion of Jackson County was drained by the source streams of the Grand, the Huron and the Raisin.⁸⁵

Closely associated with the waterways as agents in determining the location of the first settlements were the Indian trails. The principal trail of the section was the Washtenaw Trail, which lay westward from

80. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 377.

81. *Ibid.*, 308.

82. *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties* (1880), 494. It was one of the several villages originally named Mason, after the first governor of Michigan.

83. *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties* (1880), 411. The village was not platted until 1860. *Ibid.*, 413.

84. Its advantages are said to have been appreciated in 1834, when a house was built and a village platted. This was by a native of Surrey, New Hampshire, an employee in the fur trade, who in locating lands for Cass and Campau, passed there; but this beginning was not followed up. *Ibid.*, 534, 539.

85. Clark, *Gazetteer of Michigan* (1863), 99.

Ann Arbor along the banks of the Kalamazoo, and from which at various points local trails branched off to the neighboring country. In the western part of the section the site of Kalamazoo was a point upon which local trails converged from various directions, chiefly from the neighboring prairies, and became the lines of the first recorded roads in the county.⁸⁶ In the eastern part of the section a similar point was the site of Jackson, a favorite Indian camping ground;⁸⁷ its first white settler is said to have reached that point by the aid of a Potawatomi Indian guide.⁸⁸ These two places, together with Saugatuck at the mouth of the Kalamazoo, an Indian haunt commemorated by Cooper, were the first river sites in the section to be chosen for white settlement.

The choice of these Indian sites and the close relation of the roads to the trails is evidence of the essential agreement between the white man and the red man on some of the conditions favoring primitive settlement. The concentration of trails at a river indicated usually a good fording place, sometimes caused by shallows, often by rapids, the latter affording stepping stones for crossing. At the rapids fish were likely to accumulate in passing up-stream. The soil in the vicinity being usually a fertile alluvium and easy to cultivate, an Indian village was likely to grow up there,

86. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XVIII, 580, 596, 606; *History of Kalamazoo County* (1880), 291. The numerous garden beds indicate that the vicinity of Kalamazoo was extensively cultivated by a prehistoric people. *History of Kalamazoo County*, 164.

87. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 274.

88. *Ibid.*, II, 275.

and with the interests of the Indian coincided those of the fur trader in making this the chief point of their trade. There is said to have been an Indian trader at the site of Kalamazoo at the time of its first white settlement, from whom the first settler obtained supplies. It was an important coincidence that these points on the rivers afforded usually the best water power, which on the whole appears to have been the most vital consideration to the white settler.

It would seem that the selection of these three river sites was independent of the Territorial Road, which was not then surveyed; yet since they were all selected in 1829, the year in which the road was authorized, the choice of the sites of Jackson and Kalamazoo may have been, if not directly influenced, hastened by anticipation of the possibilities which the road would open for villages at those sites. It should be observed that as soon as Jackson village was located, efforts were put forth at once by its founders to secure the survey of the road through it.⁸⁹ The choice of the site of Saugatuck at the mouth of the river, far removed from the road, was undoubtedly made from motives independent of it.

In view of the physiography of the site of Jackson, however, it is natural to look for some more cogent motive for choosing it so early for the site of a future city. According to descriptions of primitive conditions there, it was for that purpose a very unpromising place. "A more forbidding site for a village or city than that chosen for Jackson," says a reminiscent sketch, "could not in all probability have been found in the State of

89. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, V, 349.

Michigan.”⁹⁰ The ground was in places low and swampy; the high ground is described as “a succession of sand knolls . . . interspersed with springs and bog-holes.” The heavily timbered bottom land was so low and wet that some thirty years elapsed after the founding of the village before there was a good street through it. It is said that workmen digging ditches for water pipes or other public utilities still find, several feet under the present surface, the old log causeways. The choice of the site of Jackson, apart from its water power and its relation to the trails, is explained by its position at the geographic center of the newly created county of Jackson, which it was well known would cause it to find favor as the county seat.⁹¹ This favor it secured in 1830, and so hopeful did the commissioners feel over the geographical importance of its position, they predicted in their report to Governor Cass that it would be the site of the future capital of the State: “So sanguine were we, that we required the proprietors to appropriate ten acres of land for the state-house square.”⁹²

Of an opposite character was the immediate site of Kalamazoo, in the midst of a beautiful burr-oak plain some hundred feet above the river.⁹³ Its first white settler had seen several Michigan villages founded, and fostered into successful financial ventures—among them Ann Arbor; and the environment of these two

90. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 274.

91. *Ibid.*, II, 275; V, 348.

92. *Ibid.*, V, 280.

93. *History of Kalamazoo County* (1880), 208. A writer in *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, V, 368, quotes Horace Greeley as saying, with slight reservation, that “Kalamazoo is the most beautiful place this side the base line of Paradise.”

sites were in some points similar. Without doubt a city was contemplated from the very first.

The influences that bore upon this settler seem clear. He could have been familiar with the agitation that resulted in the Territorial Road, and he could have known of the plans to found a village at Jackson, since he resided at that time at Ann Arbor, where the plan was matured. He had lived in Michigan since 1823, in Oakland and Wayne counties prior to his residence in Washtenaw.⁹⁴ He came to Michigan from Talmadge, Ohio, and in 1827 when he revisited that State he seems to have received information from a pioneer of Medina County about the Kalamazoo country.⁹⁵ He appears to have visited, in that year, the site of the future city, and it is probable that the project of 1829 was maturing in his mind during those two years. The fact that the lands of Kalamazoo were not in the market until 1829 would probably be sufficient to deter him. His hobby was cultivating a new variety of potato—the Neshannock—which he seems to have been the first to introduce into Michigan and which gained for him the soubriquet “Potato Bronson.” The rich black soil at Kalamazoo would be for this purpose a desideratum, but his main aim seems to have been to found a city, which he platted in 1831.⁹⁶

94. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, V, 365. He is said to have bought forty-five acres in Section 15 of Ypsilanti Township, close to the Huron River, in 1823. Beakes, *Past and Present of Washtenaw County*, 546.

95. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, V, 368, *History of Kalamazoo County* (1880), 209, 210.

96. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, V, 366.

The first settler on the site of Saugatuck was a native of Hartford, Connecticut, whose family came to that site by way of the Great Lakes in 1830.⁹⁷ A knowledge of the early history of the settlements along the Connecticut River would naturally suggest to a native of Hartford the value of a position at the mouth of an important river. A harbor and lake port would seem an obvious advantage in view of the possibility of obtaining Government aid. It was only a little while before this that a settlement had been made at the mouth of the St. Joseph River, just below Saugatuck, as a port for the St. Joseph Valley. The activities of 1829-30 along the eastern portion of the Kalamazoo, indicating the advance of the frontier, would naturally suggest to him the agricultural development of that region, which would ere long need an outlet by river transportation. It appears that some four miles up the river from Saugatuck the American Fur Company had established a trading post as early as 1825, and it is thought that he was connected with it as a trader.⁹⁸ In 1834, the year in which the first strong impulse seems to have been given to the settlement of Allegan County, this settler, William Butler, platted a village on the site of Saugatuck which he called Kalamazoo.⁹⁹ In the same year other settlers built a mill and a tannery there.¹⁰⁰ A postoffice was established in 1835. But the trading, lumbering, shipping and fruit-growing,

97. *Ibid.*, III, 301.

98. Thomas, *History of Allegan County*, 32.

99. *Ibid.*, 125. See also the *Detroit Daily Free Press* for June 18, 1836.

100. *Ibid.*, 33.

which formed the basis of its development,¹⁰¹ were things far in the future. The place is apparently mentioned by Blois as Newark, which he credits with a warehouse and about a dozen dwellings.¹⁰² The western third of the county, organized in 1836 into the township of Newark, contained according to the census of 1837 a population of 190.¹⁰³ There is said to have been no store in Saugatuck until 1851.¹⁰⁴

Otsego, Gun Plains and Allegan were the next settlements made in Allegan County, all on the river, and of course independent of the Territorial Road, which bent its course southwestward through Van Buren County towards the mouth of the St. Joseph.¹⁰⁵

About the time of the first settlement at the mouth of the river (1829-30) explorers are said to have visited the eastern part of the county. One point inspected was the rapids in the river at the site of Otsego. A number of settlers appear to have located in the neighborhood by the close of 1831 and made a settlement on the site of the village.¹⁰⁶ But the year 1836 marks the first real impulse to the formation of a village, when the first mill was built, an impulse which

101. Thomas, *History of Allegan County*, 124.

102. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 331.

103. *Session Laws* (1835-36), 76; *Mich. Legislative Manual* (1838), 70; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 305-306.

✓ 104. Thomas, *History of Allegan County*, 125. One cause of the slow growth of Saugatuck in the early days appears to have been the rivalry of the village of Singapore, located between the mouth of the river and Saugatuck. This was a speculative village founded in 1836 by New York parties. *Ibid.*, 34; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 306; XXXVIII, 159.

105. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XVII, 557, 559.

106. Thomas, *History of Allegan County*, 40, 41.

appears to have come from the wealthy founder of Comstock village in Kalamazoo County.¹⁰⁷ It is significant that this was the year in which the county was organized into its first four townships.¹⁰⁸ Otsego Township is said to have had in that year thirty-four taxpayers,¹⁰⁹ and the census of 1837 credits it with a population of 341.¹¹⁰ The village contained then about 150 people.¹¹¹

Gun Plains, about the junction of Gun River with the Kalamazoo, was a burr-oak opening, the largest continuous area of cleared land in the county and the first to be extensively cultivated.¹¹² Its natural physiographic relation with Gull Prairie in Kalamazoo County is shown by the connecting Indian trail, destined to become an axis of settlement in that region; from this prairie, over this trail, came its early settlers. Apparently the first comer was a member of the colony which came to the prairie in 1830 from Hudson, Ohio—a man of much influence, said to have been graduated from a Vermont medical college; dissatisfied with his prairie farm, he is said to have tried his fortunes first at the "Pine Creek settlement" before settling in 1832 on the plains, though he purchased land there in the preceding year.¹¹³ Plainfield Township,

107. *Ibid.*, 48, 416. The first frame house, built in 1833, was probably made from lumber obtained at the Pine Creek settlement.

108. *Session Laws* (1835-36), 76.

109. Thomas, *History of Allegan County*, 51.

110. *Michigan Legislative Manual* (1838), 70.

111. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 336.

112. Thomas, *History of Allegan County*, 38, 39, 49.

113. Thomas, *History of Allegan County*, 46. Plainwell village appears not to have been platted until 1850.

which included a strip six miles wide across the eastern end of the county, had in 1837 a population of 317.¹¹⁴

Like the sites of Kalamazoo and Jackson, that of Allegan was also marked by the concentration of numerous Indian trails at an important ford of the Kalamazoo.¹¹⁵ The physical advantages which probably most influenced the early settlement of the village are those set forth in the prospectus accompanying the "Plan of Allegan," which was apparently widely circulated in 1837. "Allegan, from its various natural and acquired advantages, will doubtless rank erelong among the most populous towns of the West," declares this document.¹¹⁶ Emphasis is laid upon the water power at the rapids of the Kalamazoo, equal to that at Rochester; on its situation at the head of steamboat navigation from Lake Michigan, on the high and healthful position above the river, the superior farming lands near, the abundant timber including extensive tracts of pine, the beds of clay for brick, the marl beds for lime, and the sand for glass.

The cause of the early and rapid start of the village is to be found also in the manner of its founding and in its strong personal element. A stock company of Boston and New York capitalists, having purchased there in 1833-34 twenty thousand acres of land, immediately sent on their agents and workmen to begin clearing the site for a city.¹¹⁷ The county seat was

114. *Michigan Legislative Manual* (1838), 70; *Session Laws* (1835-36), 76.

115. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 271.

116. Thomas, *History of Allegan County*, 55.

117. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 97; III, 270, 279; IV, 173; XVII, 558, 559. Among the original promoters were men from

secured, a mill was built and buildings erected, and the river was bridged.¹¹⁸

In the prospectus, the settlement of the village is dated from 1835, but the first store appears to have been built in 1836, the year in which the mill was completed. There, as at Otsego, this year reflects a strong impulse. The spirit of joy in the new enterprise characteristic of that year in all parts of Michigan is reflected in a remark of one of the founders who is said to have refused a hundred thousand dollars for his one-third interest in the property, that he wanted a home and "the luxury of helping build up a city."¹¹⁹ In that year articles began to appear in the newspapers of Detroit and the East about Allegan village, emphasizing especially the water power, the pine, and the navigability of the river.¹²⁰ About fifty frame buildings are said to have been erected in that year, probably from lumber sawed there.¹²¹ When in 1837 it

117. *Con.* Boston, Rochester, Detroit, Marshall, and Kalamazoo. One of these was Samuel Hubbard, said to have been a resident of Boston and judge of the supreme court of Mass.; another was Charles C. Trowbridge, of Detroit, whose name is preserved in Trowbridge Street. Both of these men appear on the revised plat of the village as the proprietors in 1837. Thomas, *History of Allegan County*, 54, 57. The earliest name associated with the site is that of Elisha Ely, of Rochester, New York. *Ibid.*, 53.

118. Thomas, *History of Allegan County*, 56. The village was incorporated in 1838.

119. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IV, 174.

120. For example the *Detroit Daily Free Press*, Feb. 8, 1836, quoting from the Onondaga (N. Y.) *Standard* one of a series of articles, and the *Detroit Daily Advertiser*, Nov. 29, 1836, quoting from the *Ann Arbor State Journal*.

121. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 247.

was attempted to resurvey the village, because of the irregularity of the streets as laid out in 1834, settlement was found too much advanced on the old streets to permit of it.¹²² Allegan Township in that year, about twice the size of Otsego Township, contained a population of 621, but as in the case of Otsego this was probably in the main gathered about the village center.¹²³ In that case it was the most populous village center in the county, containing nearly half of the county's people. Blois credits the village in 1838 with about 700.¹²⁴

The financial crisis of the period seems to have hit this prosperity a hard blow. The village is said to have had in 1850 but a few more people than were claimed in 1838.¹²⁵ Its permanence was assured, however, by the central industry of lumbering, by the surrounding agricultural development, and by its central position in the county which assured its possession of the county seat.

The influence of the Territorial Road in Van Buren County after its survey in 1836 and the water power of the Paw Paw River, fostered a village at Paw Paw. What little settlement there was in the county in the period, outside of the prairie land in the southwest, appears to have been mainly grouped, as at Paw Paw, about the points where the road crossed streams

122. Thomas, *History of Allegan County*, 53.

123. *Mich. Legislative Manual* (1838), 70; *Session Laws* (1835-36), 76.

124. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 247.

125. Thomas, *History of Allegan County*, 59.

affording water power.¹²⁶ A stage line seems to have been put on the road through Paw Paw, Keeler, Bainbridge and Benton in 1836, from Detroit to St. Joseph.¹²⁷ Most of the present important villages and cities of the county received their start much later, in the period of railroad development.¹²⁸

In Calhoun County, though Albion, Marshall and Battle Creek were also located after the survey of the Territorial Road, the influence of that road on their location was apparently only such as might attach to "a blaze and a name." The dominant attraction was water power. The site of Marshall was at the junction of Rice Creek with the Kalamazoo; that of Battle Creek, at the junction of the Kalamazoo with "the Creek."¹²⁹ The water power of both places was covered by purchase of neighboring lands in 1830,¹³⁰ and it was so eagerly desired at Battle Creek that when the neighboring lands came on the market in

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126. *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties* (1880), 394, 421, 456, 466, 477. One of the few small village centers outside of Paw Paw was Keelerville on the Territorial Road, first settled in 1834. *Ibid.*, 477; Blois, *Gazetteer*, 307.
 127. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 51. Dodge's tavern is said to have been built at Paw Paw in 1834 to accommodate travel on the Territorial Road. *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties* (1880), 508.
 128. For example, Decatur, Lawton, and Hartford. *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties* (1880), 382, 442, 460; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 363.
 129. The "battle" has significance for the attitude of the Indians towards the U. S. surveyors in 1825. See *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VI, 248-251; *History of Calhoun County* (1877), 79, 88.
 130. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 130; II, 235; XXX, 452; *History of Calhoun County*, 15.

1831 they were sought simultaneously by a half dozen rival applicants and entered by a compromise.¹³¹

The importance of mills to the progress of early settlement in this section was very great. A pioneer in the vicinity of Battle Creek accounts for the slowness of development there by "the simple fact that notwithstanding the fertility of her soil and her abundant water power, there were no accessible sawmills to furnish building material, and no gristmills to furnish flour for family consumption."¹³² It is said that as late as the winter of 1834-35 the lumber for a school-house floor was floated down the "Creek" from Bellevue in Eaton County;¹³³ apparently lumber was not sawed at Battle Creek until the following winter.¹³⁴ Foremost among these river villages in building mills was Marshall where both a sawmill and a gristmill were erected in 1831-32.¹³⁵ In Kalamazoo County the mills at Comstock and at Vicksburg preceded those at Kalamazoo.

The presence of the Territorial Road, though only in "blaze and name," had probably some influence upon rural settlement along the river in this part of the section, and to the influence of the road and the river must be added the centralizing power of the county

131. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 213; III, 347.

132. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 213.

133. *Ibid.*, II, 214. According to Thomas, *History of Allegan County*, (p. 48), the first frame house at Battle Creek was built from lumber sawed in the "Pine Creek Settlement" in Allegan County.

134. *Ibid.*, II, 221, *History of Calhoun County* (1877), 80.

135. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 131, *History of Calhoun County* (1877), 50, 55.

seats¹³⁶ at Jackson, Marshall, Kalamazoo and the other prospective centers of population. In Jackson County at the end of 1830 there were a few log cabins at intervals of from six to fourteen miles on the trail between Jackson and Ann Arbor.¹³⁷ Outside of Jackson the most important points on the road in that county were at Grass Lake and Spring Arbor;¹³⁸ three of the four townships in which the people of the county were distributed in 1834 took their names from these points on the Territorial Road.¹³⁹ A general index to the distribution of population, if allowances be made for speculation, is found in the land sales. The largest number of land sales made prior to 1835 in Calhoun County were in the immediate vicinity of Marshall, Battle Creek and Albion, and between them along the Territorial Road.¹⁴⁰ The presence of Goguac Prairie accounts partly for the large number of sales near Battle Creek.

The influence of the Territorial Road as an actual convenience of travel in this period was probably not very great. The authorization of that road in 1829 came from the same general impulse which led to the increase of immigration to the Territory as a whole, partly to the establishment of the numerous western

136. *History of Kalamazoo County* (1880), 211; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 128; *Ibid.*, II, 280.

137. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 281; III, 510.

138. *History of Jackson County* (1881), 843, 1,059; Hoffman, *A Winter in the West*, I, 179-180; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, V, 347.

139. *Territorial Laws*, III, 998; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, V, 347.

140. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 209-237, passim; *History of Calhoun County* (1877), 150.

counties in that year south of Grand River,¹⁴¹ and again to the new volume of westward moving population along the Chicago Road. Settlers, perhaps stimulated by the authorization of the new road, pushed westward into the newly established counties ahead of its actual survey and urged that the survey be made at once, but the wagon-tracks of pioneers were long the only improvements. In response to the urgent need of getting eastward "to mill," volunteer parties of settlers built such bridges, as they could, over creeks and bogs where they were most needed, but these rude contrivances afforded even at the creeks a doubtful security.¹⁴² The numerous marshes made traveling not only inconvenient, but dangerous. There was an extensive marsh on the road near Grass Lake in Jackson County which gave much trouble; says a member of one party, "We had not made more than half the distance across it when we were brought up standing, or rather sticking in the mud. . . . Thinking to lighten our load we all got off and waded through, and happily escaped the venomous fangs of the massasaugas with which the swamps were then so thickly infested." Four yokes of oxen failed to extricate the wagons from the mud "Totally unconscious of how far we were from human habitation or assistance, eight o'clock in the evening found our teams mud-bound, and ourselves perched upon high ground with our garments wet and bedrabbled with the soil of Michigan."¹⁴³ In the end relief was obtained,

141. *Territorial Laws*, II, 744.

142. *History of Jackson County* (1881), 170-174; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 276, 281; III, 510.

143. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 249.

but seven yokes of oxen were required to free the wagons.

Nevertheless, there seems to have been much travel on the road. One pioneer says that from 1832 onward "covered wagons literally whitened its entire length."¹⁴⁴ According to an advertisement in a Detroit paper, a stage line was to begin making regular trips over it from Detroit in 1834 to connect with Chicago by steamboat at St. Joseph, and to travel the entire distance in five days.¹⁴⁵ In its own interest the stage company would probably make some improvements, but the road appears to have been still barely passable in 1835.¹⁴⁶

The condition of the Territorial Road, at least before 1835, is suggested by the fact that settlers frequently showed a preference for other and longer routes. Many settlers, especially those going into the section farther west than Jackson County, preferred to take the Chicago Road from Detroit to Coldwater, or to Bronson's Prairie in Branch County, and then go northward along the section lines through the openings to points on the Territorial Road.¹⁴⁷ From Kalamazoo County a frequent route east in this period was by way of

144. *Ibid.*, II, 194. This does not quite equal the statement that travel was so great in 1836-37 that at Paw Paw "travelers offered as high as a dollar for the privilege of leaning against a post." *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties* (1880), 508.

145. Farmer, *History of Detroit*, 888.

146. *History of Calhoun County* (1877), 150; *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties* (1880), 375. The road appears not to have been surveyed through Van Buren County until 1836. *Ibid.*, 51.

147. *History of Kalamazoo County* (1880), 428; *History of Calhoun County* (1877), 150.

White Pigeon and the Chicago Road to Monroe.¹⁴⁸ Frequently a traveler used one route in going and another in returning.¹⁴⁹

Village life in this part of the section naturally received more development than farther west, and it was the most vigorous directly on the Territorial Road and the Kalamazoo River. This is perhaps best exemplified in Marshall. Though Jackson, Marshall and Kalamazoo were platted at about the same time (1830-31), Marshall seems from the first to have taken the lead; for while Jackson's immediate environment was a severe handicap, Kalamazoo suffered from lack of harmony among its proprietors.

Marshall was largely indebted for the vigor of its early growth to the superior energy, foresight and practical wisdom of its promoters. Three factors in this personal element should be specially noted. Sidney Ketchum, the first actual settler within the limits of the present city, before coming to Michigan, resided in western New York. In the words of one apparently qualified to speak of him, his "commanding presence, air of confidence and honesty, and ready command of most convincing language," together with prime business ability, made him for this section "the mighty moving power in all the financial matters of that early period."¹⁵⁰ Reverend John D. Pierce¹⁵¹ and Isaac E. Crary,¹⁵² were close friends and co-workers

148. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXX, 452; *History of Kalamazoo County* (1880), 353.

149. *History of Kalamazoo County* (1880), 94.

150. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 129; II, 236; IV, 173.

151. *Michigan Biographies*, 524; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 131; II, 235, 237.

152. *Michigan Biographies*, 204; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 131; II, 235.

throughout their long lives in the interests of Marshall and Michigan. Their chief services were rendered after this period, but they serve to illustrate types of Marshall men.

Mr. Pierce was a native of Chesterfield, New Hampshire, the native State of Governor Cass. He spent the most of his life before the age of twenty at Worcester, one of the normal-school cities of Massachusetts. After graduating from Brown University and holding several positions the last of which was a short pastorate in Oneida County, New York, he came to western Michigan as a missionary under the auspices of the Home Missionary Board.¹⁵³ He made Marshall his headquarters and for many years was the strongest religious influence in Calhoun, Jackson and Eaton counties, the chief scene of his missionary labors. The opportunity for influence in public affairs of the Territory and State came through his appointment as the first State Superintendent of Public Instruction; his plans for education in Michigan were adopted almost in their entirety by the legislature of 1837. Mr. Crary, through whose advice to Governor Mason, Mr. Pierce secured this office, was a native of Preston, Connecticut, and was educated for the law.¹⁵⁴ He was a member of the constitutional conventions of 1835 and 1850, and from 1835 to 1841 was the sole representative from Michigan in Congress; during this time he was largely

153. For the early life of Pierce, before coming to Michigan, see Hoyt and Ford, *Life and Times of John D. Pierce*, 56-72, and for his life and missionary work at Marshall and vicinity, *Ibid.*, 73-78.

154. For a brief account of the relations of Crary and Pierce, see Hoyt and Ford's *Life and Times of John D. Pierce*, 79-80.

instrumental in securing the law giving the State control of the sixteenth section of every township for the benefit of her common schools.

"One fact must ever give Calhoun the ascendancy," writes a visitor to Marshall in a communication to the editor of the *Detroit Courier* for November 6, 1833, "I mean the character of the people. They are all well educated. . . . It is indeed almost incredible, but so it is, that in this spot have gathered as if by common consent a body of men from the eastern states who must have been the most prominent among their former associates. . . . They are doubtless induced to hazard the temporary inconvenience of a new settlement that they may insure to their children that independence which otherwise they could have hoped to enjoy only during the life time of their parents."

A sincere faith in a great future for Marshall, and a firm determination to achieve it, made these men an inspiration to Marshall settlers, but actual conditions in this period were far from realizing the ideal. Marshall aspired to be the State capital. Beautifully colored lithographs presented the village in neat well-dressed lawns, with flags flying from the buildings and from steamboats plying busily on the river. In 1832 the cholera took many of Marshall's citizens; the number has been estimated at from one-seventh to one-half of the entire population.¹⁵⁵ The fact that several prominent citizens held each a number of town offices in 1833 probably reflects the sparseness of a busy population.¹⁵⁶

155. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 131; Clark, *Gazetteer* (1863), 393.

156. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 235.



REV. JOHN DAVIS PIERCE

179th Ann. Rep. of Supt. of Pub. Instruction, 20)

First Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1836-41. A native of Chesterfield, New Hampshire, a graduate of Brown University, and a champion of New England ideals. From 1831 as home missionary resident at Marshall he conducted the first religious meetings to be held in Jackson, Calhoun and Eaton counties, and later exerted a strong influence in shaping the public school system of Michigan. His bust of which the above is a copy was presented in 1916 by the teachers of Michigan to the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, and is placed near the entrance to the Department of Public Instruction in the Capitol at Lansing. See p. 341.

In 1833 the village had a number of log dwellings, a store, a hotel, a sawmill and a gristmill.¹⁵⁷ "The house was indeed not as yet plastered inside," says a visitor, describing the new inn, "and the different bedrooms, though lathed, seemed divided from each other by lines rather imaginary than real; but the bar-room wore already the insignia of a long established inn in an old community; and apprized me at once, by the placarded sheriff's notices and advertisements for stolen horses, grain to be sold, and labourers wanted, which indicate the growth of business in country life, that society was in a pretty mature state—at least six months old—in the county town of Marshall."¹⁵⁸

Even at this early date Marshall citizens were considering the possibility of a railroad through the Kalamazoo Valley. Among the notices at the inn was a call for a railroad meeting which this traveler attended in the evening and which he describes as growing "unpleasantly warm" over the route to be recommended to the legislature. Said one elderly pioneer, "This pother reminds me of two trappers who, in planning a spearing expedition for the next day, quarrelled about the manner in which a turtle, which they proposed taking, should be cooked for their supper, after the day's sport was over. An old Indian happily settled the difficulty, by proposing that they should first catch the turtle." "Now, sir, as to this railroad, the case is not at all parallel," interrupted a still more ancient speaker, "for Nature has already caught the

157. Clark, *Gazetteer* (1863), 393; *Hist. of Calhoun County* (1877), 50, 55.

158. Hoffman, *A Winter in the West*, I, 187.

turtle for us. She meant the railroad to pass right along here and nowhere else."¹⁵⁹

It is significant of the alertness and enterprising character of these settlers that they should have been seriously discussing the possibility of a railroad for their village when only a few miles of road had yet been laid even in the New England States.¹⁶⁰ "One of the most flourishing villages of the peninsula," is the opinion expressed of Marshall by Blois in 1838.¹⁶¹ It then had according to his account two hotels, two weekly newspapers, a dozen stores, a handsome stone church and about one thousand people.

Kalamazoo was a vigorous rival to Marshall. By the removal of the land office thither from White Pigeon in 1834, the village was visited from far and near by settlers in central and western Michigan to enter their lands. With the land office went the newspaper published at White Pigeon, which was issued in that year from its new quarters as the *Kalamazoo Gazette*, destined to be a strong medium of publicity for the village. A branch of the Bank of Michigan established there in that year greatly helped settlement by facilitating exchange.¹⁶² A contem-

159. Hoffman, *A Winter in the West*, I, 190.

160. A communication from Marshall to the editor of the *Detroit Courier* for November 13, 1833, points out the advantages to Detroit and the interior to be derived from a railroad through the Kalamazoo Valley. Apparently from the same source appears in the same paper for December 11, 1833, an estimate of the resources of the interior as a basis for the support of a railroad, based upon a comparison with what has been done in wheat-growing in eight years in western New York.

161. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 319.

162. Ross and Catlin, *Landmarks of Detroit*, 436.

porary estimates that the village had in 1834 about a dozen dwellings and a hundred permanent inhabitants.¹⁶³

A new impulse came to the village in 1836¹⁶⁴ when Titus Bronson sold out to a company of men among whom was the enterprising surveyor, speculator and politician, Lucius Lyon. The nervous stir of business in that year is reflected in the feeling of the visiting agents of a Clinton County colony come to register land, who were "glad to get away because it was like town meeting here every day (Sundays excepted)."¹⁶⁵ The growth of trade at the close of the period is only approximately indicated by the eight stores placed to its credit by Blois, which puts it somewhat below Marshall in this respect.¹⁶⁶

Schools and churches early received attention. The Baptists appear to have been the most numerous and active, making in 1835 those beginnings which were to develop into Kalamazoo College.¹⁶⁷ In the same year

163. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 150.

164. *Ibid.*, XVIII, 599. Up to this time the village had borne the name of Bronson. The new proprietors had it legally changed to Kalamazoo. Bronson, said to have been practically beaten out of his property, appears to have emigrated at that time to Rock Island, Ill., and later to Davenport, Iowa, an illustration of the way in which the lands further west often received settlers.

165. *History of Shiawassee and Clinton Counties* (1880), 424.

166. *Gazetteer of Michigan*, 307.

167. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 528, McLaughlin, *Higher Education in Michigan*, 135. The Baptist school of this period was known as the Michigan and Huron Institution. The Principal of its academic department in 1837 was a graduate of Middlebury College, Connecticut, who was later succeeded by a graduate of Brown University. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 529-530.

a branch of the University was established there, which is said to have soon attracted attention from all parts of the State and from neighboring states for its superior educators.¹⁶⁸ Blois mentions in his *Gazetteer* of 1838,¹⁶⁹ a Presbyterian Church, but not one of the Baptist denomination.

The unpropitious environment of the site of Jackson has been mentioned. The proprietors of the plat, however, exerted themselves to make the village a success. In the *Northwestern Journal* of May 5, 1830, information appears, apparently from that source, that unprecedented emigration to the village, considering the season of the year, had already begun; the village possessed the county seat, being at the center of the county; it was sponsored by enterprising and influential men; a sawmill was to be in operation by June, and a gristmill as soon as possible; the place would probably be the center of population in a few years; eight Indian trails crossed there "each of which would eventually be an important road leading to the capital of Michigan." But six years later the *Detroit Daily Free Press* of January 18, 1836, confesses that "the operation of various causes, unconnected with its real advantages, has heretofore restrained the growth of this place."

The year 1836 appears to mark the first real impulse to Jackson's settlement. The paper above quoted for January 21 of that year comments editorially on the rapid sale of lots in Jackson, operated by the Michigan Land Agency at Detroit. Aside from the pervading

168. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, V, 418, 419; X, 26; XVII, 307.

169. *Gazetteer of Michigan*, 306.

spirit of speculation and the buying up of agricultural lands in the neighborhood, it is probable that the projects of a canal to connect the Grand and the Huron rivers and of the Central Railroad through the Kalamazoo Valley, were large factors in encouraging immigration and investment. The first frame buildings appear to have been erected at that time,¹⁷⁰ indicating the activity of mills, and the slowness of previous growth appears in the total of twenty-six buildings in 1837.¹⁷¹ Not until the latter year was the first courthouse built.¹⁷² The State prison was secured in the same year by a liberal donation of land for its use.¹⁷³ A newspaper was started¹⁷⁴ and a branch of the University was established there. The rapidity of the growth of Jackson in that year appears in nearly treble the number of buildings, and in a population of about 400.¹⁷⁵ The financial panic seems to have borne less hard on Jackson than on many neighboring villages, for the population is said to have nearly trebled in the following two years; 1839 appears to have been a year of strong impulse to its growth.¹⁷⁶

The combined influence of the Territorial Road and the Kalamazoo River led to the founding of several other river villages of which some are today cities of importance. Among these mention has already been made of Battle Creek and Albion. Others of almost

170. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 297.

171. *History of Jackson County* (1881), 238.

172. *Ibid.*, 578.

173. *Ibid.*, 571.

174. *Ibid.*, 421; quoting the *Jacksonburg Sentinel*; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 323.

175. *Ibid.*, 495.

176. *Ibid.*, 495.

as much promise in this period were Comstock, Augusta and Galesburg, Barry and Grass Lake.

Battle Creek, notwithstanding its excellent water power and the early eager rivalry to secure control of it, appears to have been slow in securing mills, and its settlement in this period was correspondingly tardy. A census of the male inhabitants said to have been taken by a contemporary in 1835 numbered about fifteen.¹⁷⁷ The village was comparatively late in platting (1836) and it saw no frame house erected until the last year of the period.¹⁷⁸ A curious lack of enterprize is shown so late as 1845 by the apparent necessity, if true, of raising by subscription from the citizens a sufficient fund to start a newspaper.¹⁷⁹ A somewhat better impression is gained from the account given by Blois for 1838, crediting the village with a sawmill, two gristmills, two taverns, six stores, a saddlery, a cabinet manufactory, two smitheries, several machine shops and a banking association.¹⁸⁰ It is worthy of note in view of the prominent part taken later by Battle Creek as a station on the "underground railroad," that the Quakers appear to have formed a considerable part of its population as early as 1836-37.¹⁸¹

177. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 221.

178. *Ibid.*, III, 348.

179. *Ibid.*, III, 350.

180. *Gazetteer of Michigan*, 251.

181. *History of Calhoun County* (1877), *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 284. They appear to have had a church there in 1843. The State organ of the Michigan Abolitionists was printed there, its editor being the resident agent for the "underground railroad." The antislavery sentiment was strong throughout the county. *History of Calhoun County*, 23-24.

At Albion, though the lands covering the water power were purchased early, mills and the accompanying village beginnings apparently did not materialize until 1836. The impulse of 1836 was due to the Albion Company, whose leading spirit came from Oswego County, New York.¹⁸² That year saw the first frame house.¹⁸³ Mills were built, and in 1838 the village with some forty dwellings appears to have been in about the same stage of growth as Battle Creek.¹⁸⁴ Its position a mile and a half south of the Territorial Road was an initial handicap, but it was on the surveyed road from Marshall to Monroe and also on the located route of the Central Railroad. Albion College is said to have had beginnings in neighboring settlements as early as 1835 but seems not to have been a considerable influence at Albion until 1839;¹⁸⁵ its establishment appears to have been largely due to the patronage of the Albion Company.¹⁸⁶

Comstock, on the river four miles east of Kalamazoo, is a type of the village founded and fostered by the individual pioneer capitalist. It was platted as early as 1831, and had high grade business management and extensive capital in its service. Its founder, Gen. Horace H. Comstock of Cooperstown, New York,¹⁸⁷

182. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 212.

183. *Ibid.*, XXXVIII, 213.

184. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 247.

185. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 205; McLaughlin, *Higher Education in Michigan*, 145. It appears not to have been opened there until 1843.

186. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 212.

187. His wife was related closely to James Fenimore Cooper, whose *Oak-Openings* is said to have resulted from an interest in the Kalamazoo Valley initiated by the relationship.

was interested financially in a number of enterprizes, among them the settlements at Otsego and at the mouth of the Kalamazoo.¹⁸⁸ Had the village been successful in its struggles with Kalamazoo for the county seat it might well have overshadowed that village and become itself the present-day city.¹⁸⁹ Seven years of growth left it with little more than the mills and the improvements made by its founder.¹⁹⁰

Augusta and Galesburg were barely beginning in 1837. Augusta, twelve miles east of Kalamazoo, had a tavern, two sawmills and several dwellings in 1838. It received its initial impulse from the Augusta Company in 1836.¹⁹¹ Galesburg was platted in 1837.¹⁹² From six to nine miles on either side of Jackson at power sites and on the Territorial Road were Leoni, or Grass Lake postoffice, and Barry, each with a sawmill and a couple of stores.¹⁹³

Several influences operated to deflect settlement from this central line of the river and road. They were principally, (1) the prairie settlements, (2) the still unoccupied openings and plains, (3) the grazing lands on the "wet prairies" and in the creek bottoms, (4)

188. Thomas, *History of Allegan County*, 47.

189. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, V, 362.

190. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 266.

191. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, V, 357, 386; *History of Kalamazoo County* (1880), 492; Blois, *Gazetteer*, 249. The name is from Augusta, Maine, the home of a leading member of the company.

192. *History of Kalamazoo County* (1880), 377.

193. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 250, 311; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, V, 347. Grass Lake was nearly as old as Jackson. The original settlement was about a mile west of the present site, being removed to its present place by the establishment of the depot there on the Central Railroad in 1842.

power sites on tributary streams, (5) the Chicago Road, and (6) the rising value and scarcity of good land untaken along the Kalamazoo River.

In Kalamazoo County, newly arriving immigrants chose first the best available land near the established prairie centers of settlement. It is said that of the places regularly visited by a pioneer preacher in 1833 whose field included ten settlements in that county, only two were not on the prairies, and those two were on the river at Kalamazoo and Comstock.¹⁹⁴ The attraction of the settlements on Prairie Ronde and Gourdneck prairies influenced immigration especially from the states immediately south of Michigan, although by 1835 there seem to have been a great many Vermont immigrants.¹⁹⁵ As noted above, the settlement on Prairie Ronde secured a strong foothold early. The prairie is mentioned in the *Detroit Free Press* of September 13, 1832, as "largely settled," and notice is taken of the section of timber near its center. In 1833 the village of Schoolcraft forming on the eastern border of this woodland was the center of a neighboring prairie population said to have numbered about three hundred.¹⁹⁶ Schoolcraft was platted in 1831, at about the same time as the larger river villages of this section and those on the Chicago Road. Inside of two years the land adjacent to the plat is said to have readily found buyers at \$12 an acre in cash.¹⁹⁷ In 1838 Blois credits the village with three stores, and mentions what was apparently a rival village just starting

194. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 159.

195. *Ibid.*, XXX, 457.

196. *Ibid.*, XXVII, 449.

197. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXVII, 449; XXX, 453.

near the same site, called Charleston.¹⁹⁸ The population of the township of Prairie Ronde in 1837 was 665, including an area equal to a Government township, while immediately east and north for an area four times as large, 1292 are recorded.¹⁹⁹

Across the county northeast of Kalamazoo on Gull Prairie there was a village center apparently quite as large as that on Prairie Ronde. Blois mentions the village as Geloster, crediting it with four stores.²⁰⁰ The population of the civil township including it (Richland), covering the two northeastern government townships, was in 1837, 720.²⁰¹ The nucleus of this settlement was made by the "Kalamazoo Emigration Society of Michigan," which was formed in 1830 at Hudson, Ohio, near the Ohio home of Titus Bronson, founder of Kalamazoo.²⁰² The resolutions adopted by this society are worthy of note for the light they throw on the nature of the original Gull Prairie colony and as reflecting much the same educational, religious and social spirit as the "Constitution" of the later Vermont colony at Vermontville in Eaton County. Some of the resolutions are as follows:

"3. Christian principles, and the injunctions of the Gospel shall be adhered to generally; and as soon as a sufficient number of professing Christians shall have emigrated, a Congregational Church shall be organized

198. *Gazetteer of Michigan*, 262, 360.

199. *Mich. Legislative Manual* (1838), 71; *Session Laws* (1835-36), 75. This area contained the mill village of Vicksburg, which was also a prairie settlement. *History of Kalamazoo County* (1880), 523.

200. *Gazetteer of Mich.*, 289.

201. *Mich. Legislative Manual* (1838), 71.

202. *Northwestern Journal*, March 31 and June 30, 1830.

and a Gospel Minister procured and supported.—4. Common and Sabbath Schools shall early be established and supported; and, if circumstances seem to require it, an Academical Institution.—5. The use of ardent spirits, either directly or indirectly, shall not be allowed by this society, except as a medicine.—6. Those desirous of removing to the Kalamazoo, having the good of their posterity, and of the community in general, at heart; being willing to assist and alleviate a fellow citizen in distress, which is also considered obligatory; and to adhere to the rules of Christian morality and temperance, as specified above, will receive the encouragement and support of this Society.”

The Gull Prairie settlement early became one of the best known and most widely influential settlements in the Kalamazoo Valley; indeed it seems to have been more actively central to the region than Kalamazoo village.

In a less degree a similar influence was exerted by Cook's Prairie and Dry Prairie in the southern part of Calhoun County. On Cook's Prairie in the southeast, the village of Homer was platted by 1834, which appears to have been partly motivated by the water power afforded there by a branch of the Kalamazoo.²⁰³ The first mills were built there by a stock company in 1837-38, until which time growth was relatively slow,²⁰⁴ yet Homer Township, the same size as Richland, which included Gull Prairie, is credited by the census of 1837

203. *Homer and its Pioneers*, 36; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 232.

204. *Ibid.*, 37. These mills are said to have cost \$20,000, a comparatively large outlay at that time.

with a population one-sixth larger than the latter.²⁰⁵ The village had then a store and about two hundred people.²⁰⁶ Its initial impulse seems to have come from Lyons, New York.²⁰⁷ The attraction of Dry Prairie, whose settlement began at about the same time, appears to have been less—to judge from the rural population and from no mention of a village by Blois. The entire southwestern quarter of the county in which it was located was in 1837 the least settled portion, containing in its two townships of Athens and Burlington only a few over six hundred people.²⁰⁸ But the settlement of this prairie was partly shared by northern Branch County, and the neighboring Branch village of Union City appears to have supplied its village needs.

In the oak openings between Dry and Cook's prairies, which were about half way between the Chicago and Territorial roads, there were by 1834 several scattered purchases. The center of the population there in 1836 was recognized by the organization of the small township of Tekonsha, which in the following year had 278 people.²⁰⁹ A village of the same name at a power site on a branch of the St. Joseph River formed its nucleus in 1838 with a population of 150.²¹⁰

A point early settled and very well known, illustrating settlement on the plains, was Spring Arbor at the

205. *Michigan Legislative Manual* (1838), 70; *Session Laws* (1835-36), 74; (1837), 39.

206. *Gazetteer of Mich.*, 301.

207. *Homer and its Pioneers*, 36.

208. *Mich. Legislative Manual* (1838), 70.

209. *Ibid.*, 70.

210. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 373.

site of an Indian village on an extensive burr-oak plain about nine miles southwest of Jackson.²¹¹ It appears to have lacked water power and had in 1838 only a store and a few dwellings, though the surrounding township was among the few in the county which had the small area of a Government township as early as 1836.²¹² The existence of settlement on the meadow lands in the southeastern part of Jackson County as early as 1833 is obvious from the township of Napoleon organized in that year,²¹³ but township organization there in this period proceeded more slowly than elsewhere. Some of the motives of the first settlers of the region are said to have been to secure from the settlements on the Chicago Road patronage for their saw mill, which was supplied with water power from a head branch of the Grand River.²¹⁴

A measure of light is shed upon the general progress of settlement by the early interrelations of settlements, especially by their dependence upon each other for mills, mail and merchandise. For these conveniences the early settlements of Kalamazoo County depended much upon those of St. Joseph and Cass. White Pigeon was the early supply station for the Prairie Ronde settlers; and White Pigeon and Schoolcraft became supporting points for the northern part of Kalamazoo County. The early relations were close between Prairie Ronde and Kalamazoo; the first settler of Kalamazoo spent his first winter (1829-30) with

211. *Ibid.*, 364.

212. *Session Laws* (1835-36), 72, 73.

213. *Territorial Laws*, III, 996; *Mich. Hist. Coll.*, IV, 276-281.

214. *History of Jackson County* (1881), 776. Blois (p. 371) mentions the small village of Swainsville there.

the Prairie Ronde settlers,²¹⁵ and the owner of the store at Schoolcraft established the first store at Kalamazoo.²¹⁶ In 1834 the proprietor of Schoolcraft village was also one of the four proprietors of Kalamazoo.²¹⁷ Vicksburg, settled from Prairie Ronde, furnished the sole supply of grists to Kalamazoo and to the entire county until the building of the mill at Comstock in 1832.²¹⁸

In Van Buren County the first settlement was closely related with the older prairie settlements. In 1833 the water power at the site of Paw Paw began to be improved by prospectors from Prairie Ronde,²¹⁹ and pioneer trade relations naturally followed between Prairie Ronde and Paw Paw.²²⁰ The first settlement in the eastern part of Allegan County was made largely from Gull Prairie; indeed the settlement of the eastern parts of Allegan and Van Buren counties may be regarded as extensions of the settlement in Kalamazoo and Cass.²²¹

The early relations of the eastern portion of the section appear to have been closest with Dexter and Ann Arbor, in Washtenaw County.²²² Though good harvests had made the river settlements self-sustaining by 1831, the lack of mills entailed the inconvenience of long trips; for example, the nearest grist mill to Jack-

215. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, V, 365-366.

216. *Ibid.*, I, 210; XXX, 452.

217. *Ibid.*, V, 365, 375; XIII, 325; XXVII, 449.

218. *Ibid.*, V, 362.

219. *History of Berrien and Van Buren Counties* (1880), 506.

220. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 644.

221. Thomas, *History of Allegan County*, 38.

222. *History of Jackson County* (1881), 170-174; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 281, 283; V, 351; XVIII, 612.

son was for several years at Dexter, the round trip requiring nearly a week;²²³ and Marshall sent to Dexter for flour until 1832.²²⁴ The first mail route to connect these settlements came from Ann Arbor through Jackson in 1831, joining the Chicago Road at White Pigeon.²²⁵ The settlements in southeastern Jackson County, which were but three miles from the Chicago Road, had mail connections at Springville in Lenawee County.²²⁶ Battle Creek's early dependence upon Bellevue in Eaton County for lumber marks the beginning of relationships with the settlements north of this section.²²⁷

The retarding influences of a general nature mentioned as affecting the Territory as a whole were of course felt in this section. The most prominent were the "fever and ague," the epidemic of cholera, and the Black Hawk War. The first appears to be a concomitant of all early settlement in this part of Michigan, due to the prevalence of the mosquito; though the early pioneers and travelers referred it uniformly to another cause:

"Think but of people," says an early visitor to this section, "setting themselves down on a soil of twenty inches in depth, and in the month of June, when the weeds and wild flowers o'ertop the head of the tallest man, turning over the rank soil immediately around their dwellings, and allowing the accumulation of vegetable decomposition to be acted upon by a ver-

223. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 285.

224. *Ibid.*, I, 131.

225. *Ibid.*, II, 292.

226. *Ibid.*, IV, 276; Blois, *Gazetteer*, 364.

227. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 221.

tical sun, and steam up for months under their very nostrils; and yet this, I am told, is continually practised by settlers who come late in the season, and are anxious still to have a crop the first year. Here, as in the case of those settlers who, for the sake of the wild hay, locate themselves near the great marshes, imprudence alone is manifested; but the charge of culpability will justly attach to some other cases, where nuisances, not before existing, are created by the owners of property. I allude to the practice, expressly prohibited by the laws of Michigan, of flooding land while constructing mill-ponds without removing the green timber growing upon the spot. So pernicious is this to the health of the neighborhood, that it affects very sensibly the value of property near the new pond; and yet, in their eagerness to have mills erected, and aid the market of their overflowing granaries, the new inhabitants overlook entirely the gross violation of their laws, and the melancholy consequences which ensue to their families."²²⁸

In 1832 the Black Hawk War caused in the whole section a state of suspense and alarm, while from the cholera the danger was real. It is said that as a result of it, spring work was largely abandoned by settlers, and immigration almost ceased.²²⁹ In 1833 at a congressional election which probably represented the voting strength, the township of Marshall, which included Marshall village and two-fifths of Calhoun County,²³⁰ polled only nineteen votes; on the same

228. Hoffman, *A Winter in the West*, I, 193.

229. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 294.

230. *Territorial Laws*, III, 1003.

day only eight votes were cast in that township for a representative in the Territorial legislature.²³¹

The amount of growth in population by the end of 1834 presents striking similarities and differences in the several counties of the section. Those which ranked first and last in this respect were the adjacent counties of Kalamazoo and Van Buren. Kalamazoo County received its first settlers in 1828 and was organized but two years later; by the census of 1834 it lacked but a few hundred people to equal the combined population of Calhoun and Jackson counties, having a population of 3,124 to Jackson's 1,865 and Calhoun's 1,714.²³² Of the counties of this section none appeared in the national census of 1830, and Allegan and Van Buren counties did not appear in the Territorial census of 1834. They were not yet organized at that time; Van Buren was organized in 1837.²³³ As a whole this section lacked at least 2,500 people of equalling, in 1834, the population of the St. Joseph Valley, and it had considerably less than one half of the population of the single county of Washtenaw.²³⁴

The relative rate of settlement and the distribution of population in the several counties of the section before 1835 may be made clearer by the following table, in which the large figures under the years denote the number of townships existing in each year in a given county; the double-dagger is placed under the year of

231. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 196.

232. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 151.

233. *Session Laws* (1837), 97.

234. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 151.

county organization; the small numbers refer to the foot note.²³⁵

	1830	1831	1832	1833	1834	1835	1836	1837
Kalamazoo.....	‡2 ¹	.....	3 ²	.....	4 ³	.....	6 ¹⁶	8 ¹⁷
Jackson.....	1 ⁴	.....	‡3 ⁵	4 ⁶	.....	.....	10 ¹⁸	13 ¹⁹
Calhoun.....	.....	.....	1 ⁷	‡3 ⁸	4 ⁹	5 ¹³	8 ¹⁴	11 ¹⁵
Allegan.....	.....	.....	.....	1 ¹⁰	.....	‡1 ¹¹	4 ²⁰	.....
Van Buren.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1 ²¹	.....	‡7 ¹²

The township organization of Kalamazoo suggests a very even and gradual development there. Apparently the first township organizations were serviceable longer than elsewhere in the section, partly because of the unusual openness of the country which made it easy for settlers to get to town meeting from a considerable distance. This appears to be one meaning of the long life of the large township of Brady in the southern part of the county. In Calhoun and Jackson counties the similarity in township organization was

235. 1. *Territorial Laws*, III, 836, 839, 840—2. *Ibid.*, III, 972—3. *Ibid.*, III, 1,277—4. *Ibid.*, III, 839—5. *Ibid.*, III, 929, 948, 957—6. *Ibid.*, III, 998—7. *Ibid.*, III, 972—8. *Ibid.*, III, 984, 1,003—9. *Ibid.*, III, 1,277—10. *Ibid.*, III, 997—11. *Ibid.*, IV, 136—12. *Session Laws* (1837), 97—13. *Territorial Laws*, III, 1,368—14. *Session Laws* (1835-36), 74, 75—15. *Ibid.*, (1837), 39—16. *Ibid.*, (1835-36), 75—17. *Ibid.*, (1837), 35—18. *Ibid.*, (1835-36), 72, 73, 74—19. *Ibid.*, (1837), 35, 36, 40—20. *Ibid.*, (1835-36), 76—21. *Territorial Laws*, III, 1,403.

very close. The first three townships in each of these counties centered about three important points in each, all six of them on the Territorial Road and the Kalamazoo River. In Jackson County these were Grass Lake, Jackson village and Spring Arbor; in Calhoun County, Albion, Marshall and Battle Creek. In 1834 their four townships corresponded exactly in position and area, the fourth township in each case representing a strong deflecting influence in the south-east. In Jackson county this influence was the grazing lands, the power on the Grand River, and the nearness to the Chicago Road; in Calhoun County, the prairies and water power in the vicinity of Homer. The comparatively rapid formation of townships in Jackson and Calhoun counties reflects not only the increase of population but the need of closer organization in counties less easily traversed than Kalamazoo.

In the light of the conditions presented, the main causes of differences in amount of population become clear. The comparatively advanced state of settlement in the west of the section was due to its early start in Kalamazoo County, which by virtue of its position and extensive prairie land, shared in the tide of immigration coming northward from prairie regions to Cass and St. Joseph counties. The position of Jackson County, farthest east, close to the rapidly settling lands of Washtenaw, and on the south close to the Chicago Road, together with the opening of its lands to sale before any others in this section, probably went far towards inducing early settlement. But the tide of immigration did not flow strongly towards

it from the east until 1833, while the intervention of available lands on the south shut it out practically from the southern immigration. The middle position of Calhoun County, together with much prairie land on the side towards Kalamazoo, gave it a double advantage; but neighboring counties tended to intercept population, the influence on the west being especially strong. As a result its growth in population tended to approximate that of Jackson County. Allegan and Van Buren counties seem almost to belong to a separate settlement area, to include Berrien on the south and Ottawa on the north; yet the most striking common physiographic feature of these counties, the lake shore, did not materially affect their settlement until the period of commercial development on Lake Michigan. The largest common factor in the retardation of their settlement was their distance from the older settlements, due to several causes: the general direction from which immigration came, the intervention of lands eastward within comparatively easy reach having equal physical advantages, and the added increment of value due to nearness to large markets and supply depots absorbing the attention and interest of settlers.

Within three years the immigration from the East coming by the Territorial Road had reversed the order of relative numerical superiority due to the earlier immigration from Ohio and Indiana. Instead of Kalamazoo County, Jackson County had first place. The central cause, the direction of immigration, is seen in the circumstance that the population grew less for each succeeding county westward—8702, 7960, 6367, 1469,

1262²³⁶—as also the number of townships in each,²³⁷ except in Allegan and Van Buren; Van Buren with six hundred less people had nearly double the number of townships.²³⁸ The combined population of these two counties (3,731) made but little over half of that in Kalamazoo (6,367), showing the relatively small amount of settlement west of that county; while their population, combined with that of Kalamazoo (9,098) made but little more than that of Jackson County (8,702) at the eastern end of the section. The population of the whole section (25,758) was about equal to that of the St. Joseph Valley in Michigan (25,321); in the southern section, however, the greater density of population was in the west, in the counties of St. Joseph and Cass which lay directly south of Kalamazoo. In the northern section the eastern counties of Calhoun and Jackson had a much more rapid growth than the eastern counties of Branch and Hillsdale below them; this was in part due to a greater amount of open land and to the nearer prospects of a railroad, but mainly to their position directly west from Wayne and Washtenaw.

236. *Michigan Legislative Manual* (1838), 75.

237. See table above.

238. As pointed out elsewhere, the number and size of townships can not be taken alone as a positive indication of relative density of population.

CHAPTER VII

THE SAGINAW COUNTRY

THE general physical features of the Saginaw country as it was known to most of the actual settlers when Michigan became a State are probably reflected with fair accuracy by Blois in his *Gazetteer of Michigan*,¹ who describes the surface as undulating or rolling, nearly level towards the bay, and the soil as varying from a dry sandy loam in the oak openings to a rich alluvial formation in the river bottoms. There was much marsh land and some scattered patches of the so-called "wet prairie," mainly along the lower course of the Saginaw. The oak openings are said to have been specially adapted to cereals,² containing many old Indian cornfields. The abundant wild hay on the marshes, and the grass in the openings, enabled

1. *History of Saginaw County* (1881), p. 238; *History of Genesee County* (1879), p. 219; *History of Shiawassee and Clinton Counties* (1880), p. 239; *History of Lapeer County*, p. 227; *History of Livingston County*, p. 229. Livingston County is associated physiographically with the Saginaw Valley through branches of the Shiawassee River. Its actual settlement was more closely related to that of Oakland and Washtenaw counties.
2. The products of Genesee County in 1850 are said to have been chiefly wheat, hay, cattle and sheep. *History of Genesee County* (1879), 113-115.

the early settlers to bring their cattle without danger of having them starve during the first winters.³

While the oak openings covered a large proportion of the southern counties of the region a very large part of it was heavily forested. Blois estimates that about a third of Saginaw County was covered with pine,⁴ and mentions "pineries" along the Flint River and its branches in Genesee and Lapeer counties.⁵ Pine Creek in Lapeer County was the site of one of the earliest mill settlements in the region. The presence of pine, however, seems not to have been regarded by the early seeker of farm lands as a favorable condition; supposedly it indicated an inferior soil and there was the obvious disadvantage of density of forest as compared with the openings. On these lands lumbering must needs precede agriculture. It was not until some years after Michigan became a State that the idea of an eastern market for Michigan lumber appealed sufficiently to capital to bring the era of pine lumbering to the Saginaw country.⁶

Water power for the early mills was furnished abundantly by four large tributaries of the Saginaw, each of which ramified widely. The Tittabawassee and Cass rivers drained Saginaw County and the lands to the east and west; the Shiawassee and the Flint reached far southward, and their mill sites and fords, crossed at points by the chief trails, became the nuclei of the earliest white settlements of the region. The Saginaw

3. *History of Livingston County*, 23, 121.

4. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 238.

5. *Ibid.*, 219, 227.

6. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VII, 241-242.

River is in the nature of a drowned valley, and its sluggish current formed by the junction of these four rivers near the center of Saginaw County some thirty miles from the head of the bay furnished less water power but was more navigable than the other streams. In the parts of this region bordering upon other sections excellent power sites were found by early settlers on the Lookingglass, the Maple, the Huron, the Clinton and the Belle.

Among the mineral products of the Saginaw country which specially affected its settlement was salt, though it was not until late that the salt industry assumed commercial importance.⁷ Its exploitation was contemporary with the real beginnings of pine lumbering, to which it was economically related.⁸ The years before 1837 mark a period of exploration and experiment in both industries.⁹

Settlement in the Saginaw Valley in 1837 was a little in advance of that in the Grand River Valley. The former region was more easily reached from Detroit and the movement of population up the Clinton River and out along the Saginaw Trail had started emigration thither as early as 1818. But for several serious retarding influences its settlement would have been much more rapid.

7. The first barrel of salt appears to have been made in the Saginaw Valley in 1860. *History of Saginaw County*, 295.

8. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXVIII, 499.

9. See Bela Hubbard's account of the geological expedition of 1837 to the Saginaw country to investigate the salt springs. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 189. In Volume IV, 13, is an analysis of Houghton's report of this expedition. See above, Chapter I, for further discussion and references.

The influence of the Indians, trappers and agents of the American Fur Company has been mentioned frequently. Many of the plats of the United States surveyors were made, it is said, from their reports, so misleading as to necessitate in many places a total resurvey.¹⁰ The same influence seems to have been at least partly responsible for the gross errors in the reports made after the War of 1812, that beyond a few miles back from Detroit the country was unfit for anything but wild beasts.¹¹ The surveys made afterwards¹² furnished abundant materials to correct this view, but the legend once fastened on the East took long to wear out.

Among other reports there was an early one that the Saginaw Valley was unhealthful. The president of the German pioneer society of Saginaw County is quoted as saying in an address in 1881, "The country had the name of being very unhealthy and deserved it in some respects."¹³ The abandonment of the military post at Saginaw by the United States in 1823, so soon after its occupation, tended to give this

10. *History of Saginaw County*, 166.

11. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXII, 542. See above, chapter I. In the *Detroit Gazette* for June 7, 1822, a writer signing himself "A Traveller" protests against the misrepresentations about the Saginaw region by Indian traders and other interested persons.

12. The surveys were in progress in Shiawassee County in 1823, Edward Tiffin still acting as surveyor general of the United States. *History of Shiawassee and Clinton Counties*, 260. The geographer Melish, in the *Geographical Description of the United States* (ed. 1822), p. 389, says, "In the new settlement on the Saginaw River the soil is also productive."

13. *History of Saginaw County*, 227.

report an official stamp which decisively checked the plans of intending settlers.¹⁴ Zina Pitcher, the surgeon at the post, says that the commanding officer who sympathized with his men in the sickness of that year reported to the Government that "nothing but Indians, muskrats and bullfrogs could possibly exist here."¹⁵ The *Detroit Gazette* of October 3, 1823, mentions the Saginaw post as "the only place in the Territory which appears now to be afflicted by the usual autumnal diseases;" though previously it had reported the troops to be in excellent health and spirits.¹⁶ The conditions producing the sickness of that season appear to have been exceptional. The event is said to have been looked upon by even the Indians and traders as a remarkable occurrence. Contemporary accounts ascribe it to the long and heavy rains of the preceding summer which caused the waters of the Saginaw River to overflow the thickly wooded level lands making them stagnant and "loading the atmosphere with poisonous vapors" during the succeeding warm season.¹⁷

The misfortune appears to have been used by speculators and promoters interested in the lands near Detroit and in the older counties to prejudice settlers against the whole region. "If I am correctly in-

14. *History of Genesee County*, 34; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXVIII, 487.

15. *History of Saginaw County*, 165.

16. *Detroit Gazette*, September 13, 1822; October 11, 1822; December 6, 1822. The issue for October 17, 1823, reported that Major Baker, commandant at Saginaw, lost his son and was determined to remove his troops despite the fact that they were rapidly recovering.

17. *Detroit Gazette*, October 10, 1823; *History of Saginaw County*, 165.

formed," protests a writer in the *Detroit Gazette* for June 27, 1823, "the emigrant no sooner sets his foot in Detroit than he is beset by such a multitude of counsellors that he is tempted to believe that there is no safety in the country [Saginaw]. I know this was the case with myself, as I was told that the counties of Monroe, Oakland and Macomb were each respectively superior to the garden of Eden. These stories have operated peculiarly hard upon our section of the country and have induced many emigrants to think there would be but a loss of time in visiting us at this season of the year, without being drowned by the freshets, or eaten up by mosquitoes without the ceremony of barbecuing. We are not at all at a loss to divine the reasons which induce many of our citizens to use every argument to prevent the settlers from penetrating into the country and if possible to coax them to squat down near Detroit, without having examined any part of this great and fertile region. But the old traditional legend, that all was an impassable morass beyond Cranberry Marsh, has vanished—and so will the equally unfounded notions which now prevail in relation to the beautiful and invaluable alluvial districts which border the Saginaw and its tributaries."

In July of 1831 the French writer De Tocqueville made a trip on horseback into the Saginaw country and on inquiring at Detroit from Major Biddle—for many years connected with the United States Land Office there—where he might find the least settled parts of the Territory, he is said to have been told that beyond Pontiac he would find the country "full

of nothing but Indians and wild beasts;" arriving at Pontiac and inquiring again, he was informed that Saginaw was "the last inhabited spot towards the Pacific."¹⁸

It is a luminous comment on human nature and the persistence of bad reports that the exceedingly favorable information about the Saginaw country published almost simultaneously should have been received so tardily. In the *Western Gazetteer*,¹⁹ published at Auburn, New York, in 1817, is recorded a description of the region by Captain Price of the United States Army, who crossed it in March of that year in traveling from Mackinac to Detroit. He says that he found the lands on the Saginaw River "of an excellent quality and most beautifully situated," containing large prairies "from four to six miles deep." From the Saginaw to the Flint he observed that the lands were fertile and well timbered; the country between the Flint and the Clinton reminded him of Cayuga County, New York,²⁰ being "clothed with oak, a very open country, and no underwood, interspersed with small beautiful lakes abounding in fish of a superior quality."²¹ The account also contained a notice of the lands between the site of Pontiac and Detroit as "generally a low flat

18. De Tocqueville, *Fortnight in the Wilderness*, as quoted in the *History of Shiawassee and Clinton Counties*, 337-338; *History of Saginaw County*, 291.

19. Brown, *Western Gazetteer*, 166 n.

20. It is significant that this country is mentioned more frequently than any other in the pioneer reminiscences and the county histories as a source of immigration to the Saginaw Valley.

21. Substantially the same account is contained in the *Emigrant's Directory* (p. 694), published in London, England, in 1820, though the statement is absent that it was given by a United States Army officer.

country, susceptible of being drained and cultivated, the soil deep and rich." Whether this had any connection, it was in the year following that the exploration was made from Detroit which resulted in the founding of Pontiac and the establishment of Oakland County.²² The *Detroit Gazette* of November 13, 1818, contained "A view of some of the lands in the interior of Michigan," exploding entirely the idea of its swampy character, being apparently an authorized report of the exploring party visiting the vicinity of Pontiac, among the members of which was John Monteith, "President of the University of Michigan."

There were numerous other favorable accounts. A *Detroit Gazette* editorial for September 24, 1819, acknowledges receipt of letters from persons with Governor Cass at Saginaw describing the Saginaw country as delightful and the soil as of first quality. In 1821 an extensive exploring expedition was made by the "Sciawasse Company," with the specific purpose of "determining the site of a county seat of a county to be established beyond Oakland;"²³ the *Detroit Gazette* for November 9, 1821, contains the first number of their *Journal*, which gives a very flattering description of the Saginaw country. In 1822 a description of the region appeared in a series of articles in the *Gazette*²⁴

22. See above, chapter IV.

23. See the *Detroit Gazette*, October 5, 1821, for announcement of the plan giving the proposed itinerary, to include also the Grand River country.

24. *Detroit Gazette*, February 15 and 22, and March 1. These descriptions preceded the period of sickness at the fort. See *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 470-475 for the "Journal of a Pedestrian Tour from Detroit to Sagana River in 1822," containing observations made between May 22 and June 4.

by a writer who had apparently followed the Saginaw Indian trail. The Utica (N. Y.) *Sentinel* congratulated the Territory on the establishment of the new federal garrison at Saginaw in that year and spoke high praise for Michigan lands.²⁵ At Philadelphia appeared a new edition of Melish's *Geographical Description of the United States* which spoke of the "productive soil in the new settlement on the Saginaw River."²⁶

The increase of immigration with the opening of the Erie Canal led to renewed efforts by interested parties to attract settlers to the Saginaw country. Early in 1826 appeared a notice to immigrants soliciting attention to the lands of Shiawassee County signed by Samuel W. Dexter, founder of the village of Dexter in Washtenaw County.²⁷ A description of the Saginaw country addressed to immigrants by Pontiac parties in 1830 reveals a consciousness that the region had a strong competitor in southwestern Michigan. "The St. Joseph country," says this circular, "has been called 'the golden region.' We give no such attractive name to the Saginaw. We tell you a plain and true story, convinced that when you have read you will determine to make Saginaw your home."²⁸ Finding its way into the *Boston Courier* this circular prompted inquiries of the editor of the *Northwestern Journal* (De-

25. As quoted in the *Detroit Gazette*, for August 2, 1822.

26. p. 389.

27. *Detroit Gazette*, May 9, 1826.

28. *Northwestern Journal*, April 21, 1830. The points emphasized were navigability of the river for "any lake vessel," and the spontaneity of vegetation on the rich prairies, emphasis probably thought needful in view of the competing St. Joseph country. Fish, timber, salt and building stone are also given prominence.

troit) about the price of the best land, the price of stock, the cost of clearing, the prevalence of "fever and ague" and the best season for immigration. The editor made highly encouraging replies.²⁹ The price of the best land was \$1.25 per acre; a yoke of oxen could be bought for between \$45 and \$55; cows were worth from \$10 to \$15; land could be cleared for from \$1 to \$5; fevers of any kind were uncommon; a journey from Detroit to the Saginaw country could be made most conveniently between October and February.

It is probable that the later prejudice against the region was in no small degree a survival of that created by early misrepresentations.³⁰ In an address before a farmer's institute in Saginaw County in 1877, it is said that as late as 1860 the general impression of Saginaw County was that it could never be even a moderately productive farming district. The opinion is said to have been shared also by many men identified with the interests of that country. The climate was held to be too unreliable, being subject to heavy frosts in the growing season. It was said that at the date of

29. *Ibid.*, May 26. The questions came apparently from an intending settler.

30. There appear to have been no newspapers published in the Saginaw country before 1837 to herald its attractions, excepting the short lived *Saginaw Journal*, running from 1836 to 1838. *History of Saginaw County*, 696. The *North Star* began with the business revival of 1842. The *Flint River Gazette* was published at Flint from 1839 to 1841. But the first successful paper is said to have begun in 1845 or 1850. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 439; XXXV, 370. At Owosso a paper, probably shortlived, appears to have begun in 1839. *History of Clinton and Shiawassee Counties*, 130. At Howell the first paper was published in 1846 (first published at Brighton in 1843). *History of Livingston County*, 35; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VI, 86; XXXVIII, 180; Crittenden, *History of Howell*, 72.

this address there were many people in the southern counties who, uncertain of its situation, euphoniously associated Saginaw with Mackinaw. The country was believed to have a large proportion of swamp and marsh land, and the surface was supposed to be too flat to secure good drainage; nor did "pine barrens," as the pine lands were called, sound inviting.³¹

While the traders probably had a share in creating and fostering this bad reputation, many of them proved to be more than traders and gradually adjusted themselves to the new order. As noted above, most of them were agents of the American Fur Company. Their operations had been interrupted by the War of 1812 but took on new energy with the conclusion of peace; the Saginaw Indian treaty of 1819 and the establishment of the garrison on the Saginaw aimed to protect the fur trade as well as to invite and encourage agriculture.³² When the troops were withdrawn in 1824 the American Fur Company established a post in the abandoned fort, and its agents became the first promoters of the future city of Saginaw.

31. *History of Saginaw County*, 292, 298.

32. The Saginaw Indians are said to have been the least friendly of all of the tribes. *Detroit Gazette*, November 30, 1821; *History of Saginaw County*, 164. The passions engendered by the War of 1812 still smoldered, and many are the contemporary charges against the British for fanning the embers. The traders, being more closely identified with the life and interests of the Indians, appear to have had on the whole little trouble with them. It appears also that when the Indians were well treated by the new settlers they were generally peaceable towards them. See letter of the settler Stevens, written in 1825 from Grand Blanc, quoted in the *History of Genesee County*, 33; see also *History of Shiawassee and Clinton Counties*, 281 and *History of Livingston County*, 14.

These traders were widely affiliated both by birth and education with Canada and the bordering states. Some of them appear to have been men of no mean ability. Louis Campau, whose services to white settlement entitle him to be called the first real pioneer of the Saginaw Valley, is described as "an intelligent, shrewd, far-seeing operator."³³ He was a native of Detroit, one of a large family of French-Canadians employed chiefly in the fur trade. The *History of Saginaw County* mentions a score of traders prominent in the Saginaw region before 1820,³⁴ some from the vicinity of Montreal and Quebec, some of German descent; one was the son of the postmaster at Schenectady, New York.³⁵

For traffic with the Indians the traders naturally chose points of vantage on the principal trails, and this choice frequently prefigured that of the agricultural settler and the founder of villages. Good examples are Shiawassee, Owosso, Flint and Saginaw. Not infrequently the traders purchased land at these sites and made improvements, sometimes selling out at a handsome profit to someone who aspired to found a village; in this way began the present city of Flint. A post was established there apparently in 1819, by Jacob Smith, a trader of German descent, born at Quebec; he was the husband of a Chippewa squaw, a marriage which sufficiently identified him with the interests of the Indians to secure a large reservation in the

33. He founded the post at Grand Rapids in 1826 and became a prominent settler of the Grand River Valley.

34. pp. 158-164. See also *History of Genesee County*, 14.

35. *History of Genesee County*, 13.

Indian treaty of that year;³⁶ the land was to be held for his children, and the subsequent litigation of titles is said to have much retarded the settlement of Flint on the north side of the river as late as 1860.³⁷ The lands are shown on the Risdon map along both sides of the Flint River at the crossing of the Saginaw Trail. At the ford, known to the French as "Grand Traverse," a ferry and tavern established in 1825 by the successor of Smith, marks the transition from the trading post to the embryo village.³⁸

A similar village antecedent was that at the site of Shiawassee. The founders of this trading post were two brothers who belonged to a family originally from Concord, Massachusetts, which came to settle in Detroit in 1815.³⁹ Prior to 1831 the brothers had been in Oakland County as agents of the American Fur Company, but in that year, cutting their way with oxteam across the present township of Grand Blanc in Genesee County they located at the future site of Shiawassee. Though they continued their trading operations they appear to have cultivated the soil at that point from the beginning, the post becoming a permanent center of information and help to settlers.⁴⁰ The Dexter colonists on their way to found Ionia in

36. *Ibid.*, 120. See diagram, *Ibid.*, opposite p. 24, and Bureau of American Ethnology, *Eighteenth Annual Report*, pt. 2, p. 698.

37. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXV, 363.

38. From John Todd and his wife "Aunt Polly," famous among early settlers for her cooking and hospitality. The place appears in early records as "Todd's Tavern." Todd came from Pontiac. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXV, 365.

39. *Ibid.*, II, 477; *Michigan Biographies*, 697.

40. *History of Shiawassee and Clinton Counties*, 120, 281; Hubbard, *Memorials of a Half Century*, 71.

1833 passed through this point, and according to a daughter of Mr. Dexter were piloted from there to the site of Ionia by one of these brothers.⁴¹ A similarly well known post was "Knaggs' Place" on the Indian clearing just below at "the great crossing" of the Shiawassee.⁴²

On the Saginaw was Louis Campau in the employ of the American Fur Company. He is said to have platted in 1822 near the military lands reserved in the treaty of 1819, the "Town of Sagana," and appears to have built in the same year a large two-story log house there.⁴³ The impulse to this beginning of city building was due to the coming of the garrison, but growth at first was slow. It appears that of the twenty lots of this plat only six were sold, the project suffering decline when the troops were removed in 1824. As agents of the American Fur Company there arrived at Saginaw in 1827 Gardner D. Williams and his brother, both apparently brothers of the traders at Shiawassee. Gardner was destined to become the first mayor of the future city and the first representative of Saginaw County in the State legislature.⁴⁴

41. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXVIII, 146.

42. *Ibid.*, XXXII, 249, *History of Shiawassee and Clinton Counties*, 25, 120. Whitmore Knaggs was succeeded by Richard Godfroy, son-in-law of Gabriel Godfroy who founded the post at the site of Ypsilanti. By the Indian treaty of 1819 an Indian reservation of about 3,000 acres had been made at this point.

43. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VII, 240. Land is said to have been entered in 1822 on the site of the present city by Richard Godfroy. *History of Saginaw County*, 598.

44. *Michigan Biographies*, 697; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 23; VII, 239. Other prominent early settlers came at about the same time. *Ibid.*, XXII, 448, 451.

The period of vital beginnings in village founding in the Saginaw country began in 1835-36, though some life was given to the village project at Saginaw by a considerable accession of settlers in 1832⁴⁵—in that year “Saginaw City” was laid out, on the lands of the military reservation bought by Samuel Dexter of Washtenaw County after the removal of the troops.⁴⁶ In 1835-36 a strong revival of interest was effected by the spirit of speculation. A sale is recorded in the *Detroit Daily Free Press* of May 19, 1836, of twenty lots to an eastern merchant for \$18,000—conditioned on these lots being built upon at once. In 1837 a new plat of the city was made with over four hundred blocks, and a map of it is said to have been circulated widely throughout the states.⁴⁷ Heavy investments appear to have been made by Detroit parties organized as a stock company; among others a hotel costing \$35,000, and a large four-story warehouse on the river at a cost of \$25,000.⁴⁸ The inevitable bank of this period was started, and Bela Hubbard records in the notes of his visit in 1837 that there were “nearly fifty frame houses, four stores—one a handsome dry goods and grocery store, on a large scale—two warehouses, and another in progress, a small church, two steam sawmills, and in progress of erection a large edifice to be called the “Webster House;” all were of wood.⁴⁹ The description corresponds practically with that given by

45. *History of Saginaw County*, 604.

46. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VII, 239-240.

47. *History of Saginaw County*, 599; *Clark's Gazetteer* (1863), 463.

48. *History of Saginaw County*, 224; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXVIII, 494.

49. *Memorials of a Half Century*, 75.

Blois.⁵⁰ It is estimated that by the close of 1837 some nine hundred people had gathered there,⁵¹ but the financial crisis of that year apparently caused many to leave. Blois records a population of four hundred.⁵²

The sources of the first settlers of Saginaw appear to have foreshadowed those of later times, excepting the Irish and the Germans. According to the president of the German pioneer society of Saginaw County (1881), the population of the neighborhood was made up of "Americans, French-Canadians, a few Irish and the Germans."⁵³ Of American settlers mention is made in particular of the states of New York, Massachusetts and New Hampshire.

Outside of Saginaw there appear to have been in 1837 no settlements on the river, excepting very meager beginnings at the site of Bay City—probably the village of "Lower Saginaw" mentioned by Blois as having been laid out in 1836, which he credits with a dozen or fifteen families.⁵⁴ At the site of East Saginaw there seems not to have been a permanent settler

50. *Gazetteer of Michigan*, 355.

51. *History of Saginaw County*, 600.

52. Progress seems to have been very slow from 1838 to 1845, when a general revival of business took place in the valley. The city was not incorporated until 1857. *History of Saginaw County*, 600.

53. *History of Saginaw County*, 227. For the first settlers in and about Saginaw City see *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VII, 233, 239; XXVIII, 487, 497. Besides those mentioned, the most prominent of the early settlers in this period were Judge Albert Miller, Daniel Little, Norman Johnson, and Harvey Williams.

54. According to the *History of Saginaw County* (p. 227), "Lower Saginaw" had in 1849 a half dozen frame houses and a dozen or more "shanties."

until 1849.⁵⁵ There were very few settlers during the Territorial period on any of the streams tributary to the Saginaw within the present limits of Saginaw County. A few transient settlers from northwestern Ohio appear to have come to the lower Tittabawassee in 1832, principally for fishing.⁵⁶ A few permanent settlers seem to have arrived directly from Edinburgh, Scotland, in the following year.⁵⁷ The Tittabawassee settlement, it is said, was the first in the county after that at Saginaw City, and most of the clearings and settlements before 1849 seem to have been along that river.⁵⁸ At the mouth of Cass River a single settler is said to have located in 1833, but the lands of this river did not receive their first important accession of settlers until the coming of the Germans in 1845.⁵⁹

Contemporary with the first village beginning on the Saginaw River, agricultural settlement was taking root on the Saginaw Trail, at points where it crossed the Flint and its branches. One of the earliest of these settlements was just above the present northern boundary of Oakland County, which received its first settlers in less than a half dozen years after the founding of Pontiac. Parties from Livingston and Ontario counties, New York, bought land there in 1824,⁶⁰ and

55. Charles W. Grant. *History of Saginaw County*, 476, 492.

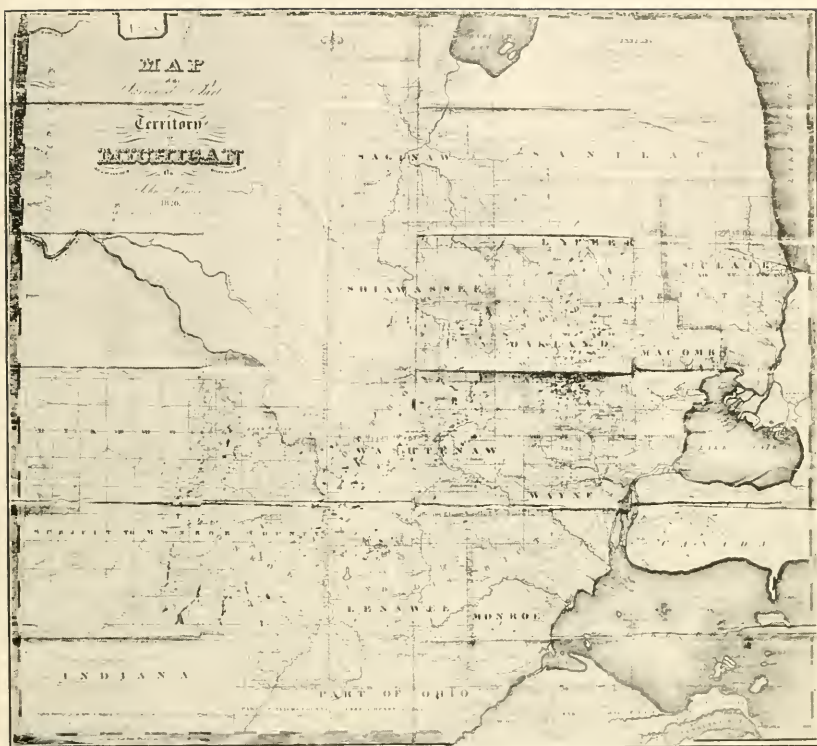
56. These forty or fifty settlers, known as the Olmsteads, are said to have moved later to Wisconsin. *Mich. Hist. Colls.* VII, 251.

57. John and Edward Brown, father and son. *Ibid.*, VII, 245.

58. *History of Saginaw County*, 227, 944.

59. These settlers came directly from Bavaria, settling within the present township of Frankenmuth under the direction of Pastor Schmidt of Ann Arbor. *History of Saginaw County*, 225.

60. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 431.



SOUTHEASTERN MICHIGAN IN 1836

(*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 636)

This map was drawn by John Farmer of Detroit, who published a map of the Territory as early as 1826. An original copy is in the office of the Michigan Historical Commission. See pp. 95-406.

actual settlers are said to have come two years later from the same counties;⁶¹ before 1830 settlers had arrived from Vermont and Connecticut.⁶² The point was early known as the "Thread River settlement," being on the Saginaw Trail where it crossed the Thread River, a small branch of the Flint. In many early records it is referred to as Grand Blanc, a name still borne by the township.⁶³ The *Northwestern Journal*, mentioning it by the latter name April 21, 1830, credits it with "a hardy industrious and enterprising population on large well cultivated farms," and Blois describes the vicinity as "thickly settled."⁶⁴ Another settlement, apparently on the Thread River, is mentioned in the same issue of the *Northwestern Journal* as Le Roy, credited with a store and a tavern. Blois locates Le Roy about one and a half miles from Flint, and its sawmill and flouring mill seem to have superseded the mill built at the earlier site.⁶⁵

The trading operations of Smith, and of his successor Todd, of Pontiac, have been noted as the direct antece-

61. *History of Genesee County*, 34. The first settlers, Jacob Stevens and his two sons, are said to have come in 1822. *Ibid.*, 33.

62. *Ibid.*, 34.

63. The name is said to have been derived from a large half-breed Indian associated with the settlement.

64. *Gazetteer of Michigan*, 291. See also *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VII, 392, for rapid increase of population after 1830.

65. *Ibid.*, VII, 242. The place had about fifteen families in 1838, *Gazetteer of Michigan*, 311. A small settlement is said to have been made on the Flint River about 1833, derisively called the "Cold Water settlement," because its members were opposed to the use of intoxicating liquor. Apparently it was independent of Grand Blanc and Le Roy.

dents of Flint village;⁶⁶ yet while both men were somewhat more than traders, the real beginnings of village life at that point came with the same impulse in 1835-36 that marked a new era in the settlement of Saginaw. In 1835 was recorded the first plat of Flint village,⁶⁷ and the county seat was secured, located on land said to have been recently purchased from John Todd;⁶⁸ its availability was enhanced by its central position in the recently established county of Genesee.⁶⁹ In 1836 a second impulse to the centralization of population there was given by the acquisition of the land office recently established for the new District of Saginaw.⁷⁰ It was commonly known as the "Genesee Land Office." Both its name and that of the county were significant of the large early immigration from the "Genesee country" in western New York. Much unhealthy speculation in town lots ensued. Four additional plats are said to have been recorded on lands adjoining the original one⁷¹ before the close of 1837. Owners of real

66. The name was first given to the river, the "River of the Fire Stone," called by the French "Rivière de la Pierre." Though the river has a rocky bottom, it is not clear what suggested Flint. The site of the Indian village appears to have borne an Indian name meaning "open plain, burned over," though the site is said to have been originally heavily forested. *History of Genesee County*, 16, note 119.

67. *History of Genesee County*, 124.

68. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 163. Todd is said to have bought a section of land there in 1830 for \$800. *History of Genesee County*, 121.

69. *Territorial Laws*, III, 1,416.

70. It appears to have remained a center of land operations until its removal to East Saginaw in 1837. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXV, 370.

71. *History of Genesee County*, 124. On one of them was laid out the village of "Grand Traverse."

estate on the north side of the river apparently held prices so high as to drive settlers to the other side of the river, and with them went the main part of the settlement.⁷²

The relative importance of the village is indicated by its early designation as "the Flint River settlement;"⁷³ yet up to 1838 there are said to have been only four houses in its neighborhood.⁷⁴ The first store of consequence seems to have been built in that year.⁷⁵ In the same year an energetic influence came to its settlement from Mount Morris, Livingston County, New York, in the person of Mr. Todd's successor in the village hotel.⁷⁶ In 1838 Flint had "a banking association, an edge tool manufactory, a sawmill, two dry goods stores, two groceries, two physicians, a lawyer and the land office for the Saginaw land district." An estimated population of three hundred people is recorded, being a hundred less than for Saginaw.⁷⁷

72. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 441.

73. *History of Genesee County*, 120.

74. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 433.

75. *Ibid.*, III, 436.

76. *History of Genesee County*, 122.

77. *Gazetteer of Michigan*, 287. The vicinity of Flint is favorably mentioned in 1837 in *Michigan House Documents*, No. 9 (E), 53. In 1845 there appear to have been about 170 resident tax-payers in the villages of Flint and Grand Traverse. *History of Genesee County*, 126-127. In 1855 these rival settlements were organized together as the city of Flint, neither having had village organization separate from the government of the township. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 163; III, 438; *History of Genesee County*, 128-129. The population at that time is estimated at about 2,000. Clark's *Gazetteer* (1863), p. 309, records that the city is to be considered for beauty of location, health, substantial wealth, educational facilities and good society.

On Kearsley Creek, a branch of the Flint River east of the Thread, a settlement worthy of special mention was made in 1837 by a colony of nearly thirty families from Clarence Township, Erie County, New York, who located almost directly east of the Grand Blanc settlement in what is now the township of Atlas.⁷⁸ This was apparently the nucleus of the later village of Goodrich. Along the creek there was much speculation in 1835-36. It is said that of 113 land buyers within the limits of the present Davidson Township prior to 1837 only fifteen became actual settlers.⁷⁹

On the upper course of the Flint River east of Flint village an important settlement was located on the excellent power site at Lapeer. A village was platted there in 1831.⁸⁰ The *Detroit Free Press*, May 31, 1832, mentions to its credit six families, a good saw mill, the possession of the county seat,⁸¹ and the environment of an excellent farming country. According to Blois the county buildings had not yet been built in 1838. He mentions a sawmill and two stores, with four more stores in process of construction.⁸² Apparently the growth of Lapeer had been very slow from 1831 to 1837, if it may be measured by the statement of Blois that its small group of settlers represented an increase of "ten fold the past season."⁸³

78. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XVII, 414. Atlas Township is said to have had twenty-two voters in 1836. *Ibid.*, XVII, 414.

79. *Ibid.*, XXII, 543.

80. *Ibid.*, I, 219; III, 549; *Michigan House Documents* (1837), No. 9, (E), p. 53.

81. *Territorial Laws*, II, 807.

82. *Gazetteer of Michigan*, 310.

83. He mentions also a village of Newbury, containing two stores, on the north fork of the Clinton, about twenty

The first purchase of land on the Shiawassee River was made in the same year as that on the Thread, and the settlements at Byron and Grand Blanc on the sites of these purchases were the earliest in that region. A relation to the older centers of settlement is seen in that the date of the purchases, 1824, marked also the beginnings at Ann Arbor and Dexter in Washtenaw, and that the purchase on the Shiawassee was made by the founder of Dexter.⁸⁴ His purchase was speculative, and like that at Dexter covered a power site, at the junction of the east branch of the Shiawassee River with the main stream where it was crossed by a fork of the Grand River Trail. While there could have been little or no actual settlement at Byron, by 1825, yet it appeared on Risdon's map of that year as a village, probably because it had been fixed upon as the site of the county seat of the recently established county of Shiawassee. It was apparently a county-seat village speculation.

The early prominence of Byron on the map, and its possession of the county seat, as well as its position on the Grand River Trail and its excellent water power, made it a well-known point among early settlers; yet its settlement seems to have been slow, even after the wave of speculation in 1835-36. This was owing partly to the rearrangement of the boundaries of the county made by carving Genesee from its territory. It was

83. *Con.* miles from Flint. *Gazetteer of Michigan*, 332. This was probably a "paper town," though there appear to have been settlers in that vicinity early. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 549.

84. Samuel Dexter of Boston. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 475; *Michigan Biographies*, 227.

by this means left in the southeastern corner, only a mile from the boundary. This unfavorable position is the reason assigned by the legislature for removing the county seat (1836)⁸⁵ to Corunna. A special effort was made to promote its prospects in 1836-37 by the Byron Company, whose leading men were from Wash-tenaw;⁸⁶ but they appear to have got little farther than recording the village plat. According to Bela Hubbard, who visited the place in the summer of 1837, it had only a mill and two houses;⁸⁷ and Blois gives it but slight mention, mainly for its water power.⁸⁸ What promise it had was overshadowed by settlement further down the river at the more central positions in the county—at Shiawassee, Corunna and Owosso. The failure of its early promoter is typical of many similar failures due to miscalculation upon a prospective county seat.

By 1837, according to Bela Hubbard's report of a canoe trip made that summer down the Shiawassee River, roads had been opened and settlement had made rapid progress along the twenty miles of the river's course from Byron to Owosso.⁸⁹ At "Shiawassee town" he found a dozen log cabins and about the same number of unfinished frame dwellings, but the whole village was under mortgage and advertised to be sold at auction.⁹⁰ The situation was apparently

85. *Session Laws* (1835-36), 82.

86. *History of Shiawassee and Clinton Counties*, 203-204.

87. *Memorials of a Half Century*, 68.

88. *Gazetteer*, 260. It is said that the place had but five families in 1840. *History of Shiawassee and Clinton Counties*, 204.

89. *Memorials of a Half Century*, 68.

90. *Ibid.*, 71.

connected with the panic of that year and the operations of the locally famous "Exchange Bank of Shiawassee."⁹¹ The founding of a village there seems to have been first seriously undertaken in the preceding year by parties from Huron County, Ohio, who purchased an entire section of land covering the water power.⁹² With a flourmill, a sawmill, two stores, a physician, a lawyer and some mechanics it seems to have been of good promise.⁹³ The "Shiawassee Exchange" is said to have been in the closing years of this period a prominent social and business center for all of central Michigan.⁹⁴

Neither Owosso nor Corunna, as described by Blois, compared favorably in extent of settlement with Shiawassee. After the United States survey of the neighborhood of Owosso in 1823 no further attention seems to have been given to the site of the village for a decade. In the summer of 1833 it was visited by one of the Williams brothers while on a journey from their post at Shiawassee to Saginaw,⁹⁵ who saw the environment probably as described in the surveyor's field notes: "Plains or Oak-openings. Land first-rate. Good soil. No large timber. It was long ago burnt off. Undergrowth white and prickly ash, poplar, thorns and briars; all in abundance."⁹⁶ Williams is

91. *History of Shiawassee and Clinton Counties*, 286.

92. *Ibid.*, 288. See above for the founding of the trading post there by the Williams brothers, 1831.

93. *Gazetteer*, 361.

94. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXII, 253.

95. *History of Shiawassee and Clinton Counties*, 140. It was probably seen by the Ionia colonists in the same year, being on the Grand River Trail. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 483.

96. *Ibid.*, 144.

said to have been attracted to the place by the Indian name for "water power," and to have been accompanied thither by the Indian chief Wasso, or Owasso.⁹⁷ Apparently he entered about two hundred acres at that time, covering the power site; but the first improvements were made two or three years later by parties from Oakland County and from Rochester, New York.⁹⁸ The accession of settlers from Rochester constituted a considerable colony who came with the purpose of founding a city at the Big Rapids, as the place early came to be known;⁹⁹ they platted it upon land purchased by agents of the company from Williams the year before. These colonists meant much for the settlement of the land on the Shiawassee, comprising men of energy, foresight and ability. A former mayor of Rochester was among their number,¹⁰⁰ and the family of their leader, Daniel Ball, appears to have later gained distinction in State affairs.¹⁰¹

The settlement of this vicinity would doubtless have been much more rapid had it not been for extensive speculation. A large proportion of the surrounding lands were held at high prices by nonresidents apparently as late as 1850.¹⁰² The village appears not

97. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 484. The Indian name is said to have meant "Big Rapids."

98. *History of Shiawassee and Clinton Counties*, 120, 145.

99. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 483.

100. John Lute. See *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 385, for the names of these colonists.

101. *Michigan Biographies*, 64, gives the name of David Ball as that of the founder of Owosso.

102. *History of Shiawassee and Clinton Counties*, 263. The village and township are said to have had but seventy-six dwellings by 1850. The city was not incorporated until 1859. *Ibid.*, 149.

to have been platted until 1838, though there seem to have been a dozen log houses there in the previous year. The sawmill, said to have been among the first improvements, is not mentioned by Blois.¹⁰³ Probably some impetus was given to the river settlement about this time by the project of the "Northern Railroad" the course of which was to lie through Owosso and Corunna with terminals at Grand Rapids and Port Huron.¹⁰⁴

At Corunna, notwithstanding the county seat was located there in 1836, there seems to have been no permanent resident until after Michigan became a State. Blois speaks of the settlement as "entirely new," a sawmill, a flourmill, a tavern and a storehouse being mentioned as in process of building.¹⁰⁵ Bela Hubbard says he saw there in 1837 one log house on the bank of the river and a steam mill which was partly finished.¹⁰⁶ The village was not platted until 1837.¹⁰⁷

The founding of Corunna came of an attempt to exploit a village by a county-seat company and originated with the same wave of speculation that gave birth to so many of these enterprizes. It is interesting that the members of this company were mainly of Scotch descent, resident in Detroit. Their leading spirit seems to have been Andrew Mack,¹⁰⁸ who is thought by some to have used undue influence

103. *Ibid.*, 71; Blois, *Gazetteer*, 336.

104. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 486.

105. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 268.

106. *Memorials of a Half Century*, 71.

107. The plat is said not to have been recorded until 1840. *History of Shiawassee and Clinton Counties*, 166.

108. McArthur, Frazer, McDonald, Hurlbut and Davids are names given in Clark's *Gazetteer* (1863), p. 233.

to get the county seat on his land at the site of Corunna.¹⁰⁹ The enterprize had some features in common with that at Hastings and Mason, in Barry and Ingham counties.¹¹⁰

Apparently the village of Fentonville, on one of the distant ramifications of the Shiawassee south of Grand Blanc, could boast of a larger settlement in 1837 than could Corunna. Bela Hubbard and Blois agree in crediting it with a sawmill, several frame dwellings, a tavern and a store.¹¹¹ It gained some distinction from its founder, William M. Fenton, a native of Norwich, New York, and a graduate of Hamilton College, who became lieutenant governor of Michigan from 1848 to 1852.¹¹²

As above suggested, the position of the early settlements on the Shiawassee River was influenced by the northern branch of the Grand River Trail. The southern branch of that trail marked a line of settlements extending in a northwesterly direction across the present county of Livingston. Between 1833 and 1837 embryo village centers were established at Brighton, Howell and Livingston; the original streets of the first two commemorate in their names the position of the village on this old Indian highway.¹¹³

109. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 483, 485.

110. *Ibid.*, XII, 386-387 for a description of the original environment of Corunna. There appears to have been good water power, though Hubbard mentioned a steam mill in 1837. Building materials of limestone and sandstone were near. See *Ibid.*, 383 and Blois, 269.

111. *Memorials of a Half Century*, 68; *Gazetteer of Michigan*, 285.

112. *Michigan Biographies*, 263.

113. *History of Livingston County*, 140, 202. See *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 483, for the position of the northern branch of this trail.

The first prospecting in this region appears to have been due to the establishment of the new county of Livingston;¹¹⁴ at least in the same year (1833) the first prospector came to the site of Howell. He is said to have been by trade a butcher, from Hughsonville, New York, who had come to Michigan to visit his father and brothers in Salem Township, in Washtenaw. Apparently on advice obtained there he moved northward by the Indian trail,¹¹⁵ and was followed soon by others, largely from the older neighboring counties, and from New York.¹¹⁶ The first proprietors of the village plat of Howell were Detroit parties;¹¹⁷ one of them is said to have named the village from a friend of his birthplace, Judge Thomas Howell, of Canandaigua, New York.¹¹⁸

The prospecting of 1833-34 was succeeded by rapid settlement in 1835-37. At "Livingston Center," as Howell was for some time commonly known, the prospective county seat was platted in 1835, on 120 acres of beautiful oak openings.¹¹⁹ In that year there

114. March 21, 1833. *Territorial Laws*, III, 993.

115. Crittenden, *History of Howell*, 11-12; *History of Livingston County*, 136; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 176. The prospector was John D. Pinckney.

116. The New York counties most frequently mentioned by Crittenden as sources of the first settlers are Ontario, Herkimer, Cattaraugus and Livingston. The first tavern keeper at Howell was from Geneseo, Livingston County, New York. Crittenden, *History of Howell*, 18. A few Scotch settlers are mentioned among the early arrivals at Howell. *History of Livingston County*, 138, 141.

117. *Ibid.*, 139; *Michigan Biographies*, 202. These are said to have been Flavius Crane and Edward Brooks, the former a native of Canandaigua, New York.

118. Crittenden, *History of Howell*, 17; *History of Livingston County*, 140; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 177.

119. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 177.

seems to have been but one log house on the site,¹²⁰ but in the fall of the next year the erection of a two-story frame hotel indicated expectation of a decided increase in settlers and prospectors.¹²¹ By the close of 1837 some fifty families and single persons are said to have settled there.¹²²

Among the chief retarding influences in the early settlement of Howell were the high prices at which speculators held village lots, and the county-seat contest with the rival village of Brighton. As an index to speculation, there were one hundred and thirty-seven village lots assessed to nonresidents in 1837¹²³ at which time there were within the corporate limits as they existed in 1880 only fifteen resident taxpayers. The struggle over the county seat is said to have delayed the erection of suitable county buildings at Howell for a number of years and to have decisively dampened the ardor of private enterprise.¹²⁴

120. See Alvin L. Crittenden's account of his arrival in that year and of the environment of the village site. *History of Livingston County*, 139. There appear to have been eighteen settlers in that year in the township.

121. Crittenden, *History of Howell*, 32; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXI, 372; XXXVIII, 177. The postoffice was established there in January of that year. Crittenden, *Hist. of Howell*, 21. At the town meeting of that year in April, which included voters for many miles around, thirty-six votes were cast. *Ibid.*, 25.

122. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 188-189.

123. *History of Livingston County*, 143. Lots were assessed at the uniform price of \$25 each.

124. The county buildings were not erected until 1847. Crittenden, *History of Howell*, 56-57; *History of Livingston County*, 30-31; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 180. Brighton first assumed the character of a village with the opening of a log tavern in 1836, the village being

By 1837 Livingston County had developed a fair quota of "mill towns." Brighton and Howell each are credited by Blois with a flouring mill, a sawmill and a store.¹²⁵ The village of Livingston about which much less is heard in pioneer records, was according to his description quite their equal in settlement, being five miles nearer to Detroit than either, and on what appears to have been an excellent supply of water power from a small branch of the Huron River called Woodruff's Creek.¹²⁶ In the same vicinity on another power site and on the "state road" from Pontiac to Ann Arbor is mentioned Green Oakville, a settlement of twelve or fifteen families.¹²⁷ On Portage River, another branch of the Huron, was the village of Unadilla, with two sawmills¹²⁸—the only village center in the southwestern party of the county. The power for all of the mills at these villages was supplied by branches of the Huron at short distances from the main stream in Washtenaw County, which gave these settlements a natural affiliation with the Washtenaw villages of Ypsilanti, Ann Arbor and Dexter.¹²⁹

The county seat and central position of Howell made

124. Con. platted in the following year. *History of Livingston County*, 201. Its first settlers were from New York.

125. *Gazetteer*, 254, 302. "Benton" is probably Brighton.

126. *Ibid.*, 313.

127. *Ibid.*, 297.

128. *Ibid.*, 375. A settlement appears to have been made there as early as 1828. *History of Livingston County*, 19.

129. This land was part of Washtenaw County until the establishment of Livingston County in 1833. *Territorial Laws*, I, 334. Many of the first settlers were from Washtenaw County. The first store at Howell (1837) was established from Ann Arbor. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 178.

it not only the peer of its rivals in trade, but like Shiawassee it appears to have early become for a wide circle of country a favorite social center. Hon. Jerome W. Turner is quoted as once saying, "Men from the East who had no design of settling here, staged it out from Detroit, or over from Dexter, to spend a few days in laughing." He tells of an acquaintance in New York who said "he was accustomed to travel through almost every town in the United States large enough to hold a meeting house without finding one that could equal Howell for fun." It was "a town from the start with a grin on its countenance which never relaxed but continually flowed into guffaws."¹³⁰

The practical isolation of a large part of the Saginaw country because of the difficulties of communication and transportation, was long a serious drawback to its settlement. In 1822 a party headed by Harvey Williams, who is reported to have been a man of much determination, is said to have required eight days to transport four tons of supplies from Detroit to the troops at Saginaw, and though at the time he was strongly impressed with the possibilities of the region it was twelve years (1834) before he saw enough to induce him to live "in a wilderness forty miles from civilization."¹³¹ In 1834 the national military turnpike over the old Indian trail reached the embryo village of Flint.¹³² A decade of work on it had not much

130. Crittenden, *History of Howell*, 44-45.

131. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 25.

132. This turnpike, later known as the Saginaw Road, was begun by a detachment of United States troops in the year of Williams' trip. *Mich. Hist. Coll.*, VII, 252; *History of Genesee County*, 39.

improved it, according to the experience of Judge Albert Miller, who says that though he was offered strong inducements to settle in Flint in the spring of 1831 he bought a farm in Grand Blanc rather than continue the journey through the woods to that place.¹³³ In the year in which the road reached Flint a bridge was built over the river in line with the present Saginaw Street, which is said to have been an important circumstance in helping to fix the center of the village at that point.¹³⁴ The last work done on the road by the National Government (1835) extended it five miles north of Flint, from which point the State completed it to Saginaw in 1841.¹³⁵ When Michigan became a State there appears to have been between Saginaw and Detroit a barely passable wagon road.

The most prominent wagon route west of the Saginaw Turnpike was one branching off at Pontiac early known as the "Pontiac and Grand River Road," which led through the northeastern corner of Living-

133. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IV, 139. In 1830 the journey of a settler from Pontiac over the route to Flint is said to have taken three days. *History of Genesee County*, 121.

134. *Ibid.*, 120. Game and fish had attracted the Indians to this ford, called by the French the "Grand Traverse." Todd's ferry is mentioned above. See *History of Genesee County*, 119, 122. For the project of the "Northern Railroad" see *Ibid.*, 43-44. The first locomotive appears not to have reached Flint until 1863. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 439.

135. About 1849-50 a new impulse was given to the improvement of this road between Saginaw and Pontiac to make connections with the railroad then completed from Pontiac to Detroit. *History of Genesee County*, 132, 476. See *Session Laws* (1849), 241 for act authorizing a road between the German settlements. This region also felt the impulse to plank-road building as early as 1847. *History of Genesee County*, 40-41.

ston County and near there became one with the northern fork of the Grand River Trail.¹³⁶ Frequent mention is found in pioneer records of a trail leading from Owosso to Saginaw, apparently that traversed by the trader Williams and Chief Wasso in 1833.¹³⁷ The State projects of the "Northern Railroad" and "Northern Wagon Road" marked the beginnings of an attempt to secure direct travel between Flint and Cornua.¹³⁸

The main line of the Grand River Trail ran northwestward from Detroit almost diagonally through the center of Livingston County.¹³⁹ Its northern fork, above mentioned as meeting the trail from Pontiac, branched off near Howell, while the main trail became approximately the line of the national turnpike known as the "Grand River Road," by which the earliest settlers came to Livingston County from Detroit.¹⁴⁰ The last money appropriated by the National Government to improve this line of travel was spent just before the admission of the State in clearing its course a little west of Howell.¹⁴¹ In 1838 a primitive

136. Apparently this was the route taken by the founders of Ionia in 1833. *History of Shiawassee and Clinton Counties*, 25.

137. *Ibid.*, 25, 140.

138. *Ibid.*, 32. The State expended some \$60,000 on this work, which was suspended during the hard times following the panic of 1837.

139. *History of Livingston County*, 51.

140. Crittenden, *History of Howell*, 9; *History of Livingston County*, 19.

141. *Ibid.*, 51. By 1840 little if any of it was graded west of Brighton, but the abandonment of the "Northern Wagon Road" about that time turned the aid of the State towards it. Shortly afterwards a primitive stage line of lumber wagons is said to have been started between Howell and the vicinity of Lansing.

stage line began to run between Howell and Detroit, the trip one way apparently requiring the better part of a week.¹⁴²

The rivers of the Saginaw country furnished an abundance of water power, and they aided in the rafting of logs and lumber; but excepting the main channel of the Saginaw they appear to have been little help to the settler in the transportation of goods and supplies. There are many reports of early attempts to use them. Efforts were made by the State and by private companies to improve their navigability, but without much success.¹⁴³ The apparent prospect of success undoubtedly helped to secure settlers in many localities in days when resources seemed abundant and the spirit of enterprize was at high tide, particularly as much was hoped from the plan to unite by canal the main streams of the Saginaw and the Grand River

142. Crittenden, *History of Howell*, 50; *History of Livingston County*, 22; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 179. A plank road appears to have been completed between Howell and Detroit in 1850. Crittenden, *History of Howell*, 79. Howell seems to have had early connections with Kensington in Oakland County by a mail route (1836) and by dependence upon the physician there. Later the route by way of Lyon or Royal Oak seems to have been commonly taken between Howell and Detroit. *History of Livingston County*, 19, 138.

143. Several thousand dollars spent on the Shiawassee River made it sufficiently navigable for a cargo of 200 bbls. of flour to be floated at favorable stages of water from Owosso to Saginaw about 1837-39. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 486; *History of Shiawassee and Clinton Counties*, 31; *Session Laws* (1837), 171. Projects for navigating the Flint began about 1839. *History of Genesee County*, 41. A note (*Ibid.*, 133) quotes from a Flint paper of March 27, 1852, "Port of Flint—Arrivals and Departures.—Departed, scow, 'Kate Hayes,' Captain Charles Mather."

valleys.¹⁴⁴ In 1837 shipbuilding appears to have made a slight beginning at Saginaw.¹⁴⁵

The accounts of the early mills of the Saginaw country are as numerous as the mills were important to the settlers. When transportation was so difficult and flour and lumber were products of prime necessity it was the desire of settlers to be near a mill, and the founders of villages naturally chose mill sites that furnished the most abundant and cheapest power. Especially was this true in a region where it was foreseen that lumbering would be a chief future industry. The nearest mills for the earliest settlers were in the vicinity of Pontiac and Ann Arbor, but by 1837 mills had been built at all of the chief villages. The first saw mills in the region, on the Thread River in the Grand Blanc settlement south of Flint, are said to have been built as early as 1828 and 1830.¹⁴⁶ In 1832 ten thousand feet of pine lumber bought at one of these mills is said to have been floated down the Flint River to the vicinity of Saginaw to build a frame house, apparently the first in that region.¹⁴⁷ The first gristmill of the region, also on the Thread (1834), appears to have made that site for several years an objective point for a wide circle of country.¹⁴⁸ The first mill built at Saginaw, about 1835, appears to have been

144. This project was abandoned in 1839 after an expenditure of over \$20,000, but its possibilities led a private company to contemplate it a decade later. *Session Laws* (1849), 196.

145. *History of Saginaw County*, 451.

146. *History of Genesee County*; 117. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VII, 242.

147. *Ibid.*, 117, note. Purchased by Eleazer Jewett at Stevens' mill.

148. *Ibid.*, 132.

run by steam.¹⁴⁹ But the days of profitable lumbering were distant; it is said that there were not by 1850 a half dozen sawmills in Saginaw County;¹⁵⁰ lumbering had perforce to await the era of the railroad and an eastern market.

Besides "going to mill," there were other pioneer trade relations between the larger and smaller settlements. Naturally these relations were determined mainly by the easiest routes of travel. Saginaw and Flint obtained supplies from Pontiac, though Saginaw got them sometimes from Detroit directly by water.¹⁵¹ The settlements on the Shiawassee traded first with Howell, Ann Arbor and Detroit and later with Pontiac.¹⁵² Considering the difficulties of transportation, prices were in general not high before the panic;¹⁵³ stock had to be driven in from Ohio;¹⁵⁴ wheat sold in Livingston County before 1838 at \$2 per bushel.¹⁵⁵ But actual suffering existed in 1837 in that county, and panic prices prevailed; according to the reminiscences

149. The "Emerson Mill," built by the Williams brothers. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 25; VII, 243; see *History of Saginaw County*, 383-85 for an account of the early mills and lumbering of that county. See also *History of Genesee County*, 132-133; *History of Shiawassee and Clinton Counties*, 151; *History of Livingston County*, 21, 141; Crittenden, *History of Howell*, 28, 61.

150. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXVIII, 498.

151. *Ibid.*, II, 485; VII, 388, 393.

152. *Ibid.*, II, 486. The supplies of the Rochester company at Owosso (1837) were sent by the water route to Saginaw. *Ibid.*, II, 485.

153. A long list of store prices for 1831-32 at Saginaw is given in the *History of Saginaw County* (p. 236). Flour was \$7.31 per bbl.

154. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VII, 393.

155. *History of Livingston County*, 23. Conditions were changed by the abundant harvest of 1838.

of a contemporary there were families that lived for days on boiled acorns and fish cooked and eaten without salt or fat.¹⁵⁶

The extravagant speculation and "frenzied finance" which heralded the panic of 1837 made almost all conditions of life in the Saginaw country as elsewhere in the Territory abnormal. Much of the most desirable land was taken up by speculators without any intention to settle upon it. In the *History of Shiawassee and Clinton Counties* examples are given of properties which these "land sharks" would buy one day at the Government price of \$1.25 per acre and hold the next day at \$5.¹⁵⁷ It is said that at Howell in Livingston County the high-priced holdings of nonresident speculators in 1847 were so extensive as to cause the new courthouse to be built on an addition.¹⁵⁸ A counterpart of the land speculations was the so called "wild-cat" banking, of which a typical description is given in the *History of Genesee County*.¹⁵⁹ The panic is said to have reduced the population of Saginaw from nine hundred to about four hundred and fifty, and it was 1841 before a favorable reaction began to be felt in that county.¹⁶⁰

The distribution of population in the Saginaw country bore undoubtedly some relation to the organiza-

156. *Ibid.*, 22.

157. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 483; *History of Shiawassee and Clinton Counties*, 121.

158. Crittenden, *History of Howell*, 58. It became the village center and shifted the principal part of the village away from the original site.

159. p. 137. See also *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VII, 396-398.

160. *History of Saginaw County*, 605, 607. See also *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VII, 240.

tion of counties and townships there. In 1822 when the garrison was established at Saginaw in consequence of the Indian treaty of 1819, the whole of the Saginaw region was divided into the counties of Lapeer, Shiawassee and Saginaw, all with extensive boundaries.¹⁶¹ It has been estimated that in 1830 there were not more than a hundred people in the three counties,¹⁶² none of which had sufficient population to call for separate county government until 1835¹⁶³—Shiawassee not until 1837.¹⁶⁴ The increase of population in the vicinity of Flint and Grand Blanc is indicated by the establishment and organization of Genesee County in 1835-36, out of territory originally in the older counties.¹⁶⁵ Livingston County, established in 1833, was organized but a few days later than Genesee.¹⁶⁶

The first township government organized in the Saginaw country was significant of the beginning of settlement at the future site of Saginaw City. This was the township of Saginaw, coextensive with the county as laid out in 1822.¹⁶⁷ At the first township

161. By proclamation of Governor Cass, September 10, 1822. *Territorial Laws*, I, 333-334. The boundaries of Saginaw County were readjusted March 2, 1831. *Territorial Laws*, III, 872.

162. Mainly in the neighborhood of Flint, and most of these were probably French-Canadian trappers and traders. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 359; VII, 232, for the settlers along the Saginaw trail north of Pontiac. The barest beginnings had been made in the southern part of Livingston County. *History of Livingston County*, 19-20.

163. *Territorial Laws*, III, 1348, 1349.

164. *Session Laws* (1837), 106.

165. *Territorial Laws*, III, 1416. *Session Laws* (1835-36), 66.

166. *Territorial Laws*, III, 993; *Session Laws* (1835-36), 65.

167. July 12, 1830. *Territorial Laws*, III, 818.

meeting in the spring of 1831 there are said to have been cast only a few over a dozen votes;¹⁶⁸ two years later, the vicinity of Flint and Grand Blanc was recognized as a growing center of settlement by the organization of the first township south of Saginaw¹⁶⁹—the name of Grand Blanc for the township points probably to the settlement on Thread River as being in contemporary opinion more important than the one at Flint. In the following year (1834) the settlement in the southeastern corner of Lapeer County secured organized government as Mia (Bristol) Township;¹⁷⁰ and there was apparently scattered settlement elsewhere in Lapeer County, as in the same year the remainder was organized in the large township of Lapeer.¹⁷¹ In the meantime the population of Saginaw Township, as recorded in the *History of Saginaw County* purporting to give the census of 1834, had increased to 303.¹⁷²

The year of the cholera epidemic (1834) was not auspicious for the beginning of the new settlements in Livingston County, but in the spring of 1835 three townships were organized in the county, which indicates apparently that settlers had come in rapidly.¹⁷³ The

168. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXII, 451, 453. The meeting took place after the readjustment of the boundaries in March, 1831. See *Territorial Laws*, III, 872.

169. March 9, 1833. *Territorial Laws*, III, 985.

170. March 7, 1834. *Ibid.*, III, 1277. The name was changed to Bristol in December of that year, after its most prominent settler. *Ibid.*, III, 1333.

171. December 30, 1834. *Territorial Laws*, III, 1339. The southeastern corner was included in Grand Blanc Township the preceding year.

172. p. 457.

173. March 17 and 26. *Territorial Laws*, III, 1368, 1404. The southwestern township of Unadilla included the present northwestern township of Washtenaw County (Lyndon, organized March 23, 1836).

position of these townships shows that the settlements were mainly in the southern part of the county, though settlers are said to have entered the northern part in 1834.¹⁷⁴ In the following year (1836) along with extensive speculations, the population is said to have increased more than five-fold;¹⁷⁵ and the spring of that year, before the opening of active immigration, saw three new townships organized—two of them in the south and east.¹⁷⁶

The organization of other townships in 1836 shows an increase of settlement on the Flint and Shiawassee rivers. In that spring was organized Shiawassee Township, coterminous with the county.¹⁷⁷ The settlement at Flint became the center of a new township north of Grand Blanc,¹⁷⁸ while south of the latter the settlement at Fenton was recognized in the township of Argentine.¹⁷⁹ The formation of Atlas and Hadley townships shows increasing settlement in the south and southwest of Lapeer County, which had apparently spread eastward from Grand Blanc and northward from Oakland.¹⁸⁰

By the spring of 1837 the growth of settlement called for separate township government in several parts of all of these counties, excepting Saginaw. In Lapeer

174. *History of Livingston County*, 20.

175. *Ibid.*, 21.

176. *Session Laws* (1835-36), 77.

177. March 23, 1836. *Ibid.*, 78. A year before, the settlements there had been attached for township purposes to Grand Blanc (March 26, 1835). *Territorial Laws*, III, 1404.

178. March 2, 1836. *Session Laws* (1835-36), 67.

179. July 26, 1836. *Ibid.*, 80.

180. March 23, 1836, *Ibid.*, 77.

County the township of Lomond completed the row of townships along the south bordering upon the northern townships of Oakland County.¹⁸¹ Another township, Richfield, was added next to the older settlements of Genesee County.¹⁸² The central and northern parts of Lapeer County seem still to have been comparatively unsettled. According to the State census of 1837 the county contained 2,602 people.¹⁸³

On the Saginaw Road in Genesee County the large townships of Flint and Grand Blanc were in 1837 subdivided, the latter taking the area of a surveyed township and containing by the census more than a fourth of the population of the county, about half as many people as the total of Shiawassee;¹⁸⁴ but a comparison with the population of the Flint settlement is only, roughly possible on the basis of the census, since that township had exactly six times the area of Grand Blanc.¹⁸⁵ The third important center of settlement in Genesee County, with double the area of Grand Blanc,

181. March 11, 1837, *Session Laws* (1837), 39.

182. *Ibid.*, 35.

183. Exclusive of the township of Richfield. The population is not given by townships. *Michigan Legislative Manual* (1838), 71. According to *Michigan House Documents*, No. 9, (E), 52, the tract of country between Lapeer and the St. Clair River was entirely unsettled.

184. Grand Blanc, population 691. Its area was reduced by the formation of Mundy Township, March 11, 1837. *Session Laws* (1837), 36. The population of the latter, containing double the area of Grand Blanc, was 234. *Michigan Legislative Manual* (1838), 71.

185. The large township of Flint occupied the center of the county, having been reduced by the formation of Vienna Township at the north. *Session Laws* (1837), 42. Their populations were respectively 1,288 and 107. *Michigan Legislative Manual* (1838), 71.

contained about two-thirds as many people.¹⁸⁶ The total population of the county was somewhat larger than that of Lapeer on the east, which had double the area; and it was about twice that of Shiawassee on the west, whose area was about its equal.

If the creation of townships may be taken as an indication, the population of Shiawassee County had increased rapidly within a year, and the relative size of the township suggests that the greater number of people were in the southeast along the river. Two settlements there were of the area of surveyed townships.¹⁸⁷ The township of Burns in the southeastern corner included the oldest settled lands in the county, and the township of Vernon¹⁸⁸ immediately above it included the settlement about "Shiawassee town." The remainder of the southern half of the county retained the name of the original township, while the northern half was organized as the new township of Owosso.¹⁸⁹ The population of Shiawassee County was a little more than that of Saginaw, which still had but one township for the whole county, with less than a thousand people.¹⁹⁰

The population of Livingston County by the same census was 5,029,¹⁹¹ more than one-half of which was in the southeastern quarter. Settlement was sparsest in the northwest, about equal in the northeast and

186. Argentine, population 434. Population of the county 2,754.
Michigan Legislative Manual (1838), 71.

187. *Session Laws* (1837), 38.

188. *Ibid.*, 40.

189. *Ibid.*, 36.

190. Shiawassee, population 1,184; Saginaw, population 920.
Michigan Legislative Manual (1838), 75.

191. *Ibid.*, 72.

southwest; nearness to the older settlements in Oakland and Washtenaw apparently were the chief influences determining this distribution. Before the census was taken there were formed four new townships;¹⁹² but the entire northwestern quarter of the county was left as the township of Howell, which contained the county seat; its population, 442, was probably mainly gathered in its southeastern corner, about the county seat village of Howell.

192. March 11, 18, 20. *Session Laws* (1837), 39, 42, 43, 141.

CHAPTER VIII

THE GRAND RIVER REGION

THE first attention given to the Grand River region after the Indian treaty of 1821 looking toward agricultural settlement, was in 1829, when Eaton, Barry and Ingham counties were established by the same act of the Territorial legislature as the southwestern counties along the Chicago and Territorial roads.¹ Three years later the counties of Ottawa, Kent, Ionia, Clinton, Montcalm and Gratiot received similar attention,² but none of these counties had township organization before 1835 except Kent, of which the part south of the Grand River was organized as Kent Township in 1834.³ The first counties of this section were not organized until 1836-37.⁴

The original physical conditions of the section were on the whole the same as now with a few changes of consequence in the timbered lands and in the immediate vicinity of important centers of population. The larger part of the soil of Kent County was of the class found in the oak openings.⁵ About one-third of the

1. *Territorial Laws* II, 735.

2. *Ibid.*, III, 871.

3. *Ibid.*, III, 1275.

4. Kent, March 24, 1836, *Session Laws*, 65. The two present northern tiers of townships were not a part of the county until 1840, *Session Laws*, 196; Ionia, March 18, 1837, *Session Laws*, 97; Eaton and Ottawa, December 29, 1837, *Session Laws*, 9.

5. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 226.

county, mainly the western part, appears to have been heavily forested with black walnut, beech, sugar-maple and white-wood.⁶ North of Grand River there was heavy pine which furnished the early supply of tractable wood for the furniture industry at Grand Rapids.⁷ The early lumbering industry and the slowness of agricultural settlement there is seen in the growth of the township of Nelson.⁸ There appear to have been at least four large Indian clearings in this county, all of them on the Grand River; one at the mouth of the Flat River (Lowell), another at the mouth of the Thornapple (Ada), a third at the rapids of the Grand (Grand Rapids), and a fourth at "Little Prairie" (Grandville).⁹ At these points there was early to be found along with the Indian village the trading post of the American Fur Company.

The primitive environment of Grand Rapids is quite fully given in a well-known recent account.¹⁰ The place presented originally a view that must have been very attractive to settlers; a valley about a mile and a half in width threaded by the waters of the Grand River was surrounded by forest-clad hills; the heaviest timber was on the bottom lands; on the higher lands lay the oak openings; pine was interspersed among these timbers at intervals, and among bearers of wild fruit flourished the wild plum tree and the grape vine.

6. *Ibid.*, 226. Cf. Everett, *Memorials of the Grand River Valley*, (1878), 41.

7. Goss, *History of Grand Rapids*, II, 1036.

8. *Memorials of the Grand River Valley*, 217.

9. *Ibid.*, 40; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 215, 216.

10. Goss, *History of Grand Rapids*, I, 18-24.

Productive gardens have now been made of the neighboring swamps. It is a striking illustration of the marked changes often made in the local environment of large population centers that where the post office now is in Grand Rapids, it is said originally there was a swamp covering about an acre.¹¹

The chief geological feature of the valley at the site of Grand Rapids was the exposure of a large area of subcarboniferous limestone, a ledge of which formed the rapids in the river and created an immense water power.¹² There is said to have been originally between Pearl and Leonard streets about eighteen feet of descent in these rapids.¹³ Besides the soil, this water power and the neighboring forests appear to be the strongest factors in the early rapid settlement of Grand Rapids.

The topography and soil of Ottawa County was formed by sand drifted in from Lake Michigan and by deposits from the Grand River,¹⁴ and this general character of the county seems to have been early known in the East. "The country along the eastern branch of Lake Michigan," says the geographer Melish, writing in 1822, "is generally sandy and barren. On the bank of the Grand River, however, there are some of

11. *Ibid.*, 23. One of the small lakes (Reed's Lake, named for Ezra Reed, a settler of about 1834) is now a well-known pleasure resort for the city. *Ibid.*, 166.

12. Charles A. Whittemore, in Michigan Academy of Science, *First Report* (1894-1899), 62-65.

13. Goss, *History of Grand Rapids*, I, 21.

14. Goss, *History of Grand Rapids*, I, 21; there is a fairly accurate popular account of the geology, surface and soil of Ottawa County in the *History of Ottawa County*, 16-17, 26. For a description of the sand dunes of this shore see above, Chapter I.

the finest tracts of farming land in the Territory.”¹⁵ In another report it is observed that the high banks of Grand River disappear a short distance below Grand Rapids, where the country assumes a level sandy surface of from twenty to fifty feet above the lake.¹⁶ The same report notes also a rich growth of pine and hemlock; extensive oak openings reached several miles back from the river, favoring land transportation—the trees were far enough apart for wagons or loads of hay to pass among them easily.¹⁷ These descriptions correspond to those given by Blois.¹⁸ The site of the first important settlement in the county would be expected near the harbor at the mouth of the Grand River.

The soil of Ionia County is described as a black rich sandy loam, free from stones, naturally arable and fitted for grazing.¹⁹ The points earliest to attract settlers were naturally the Indian clearings at the junctions of tributary streams with the Grand River. A clearing near the mouth of Prairie Creek was destined to be the site of the city of Ionia²⁰ about two miles from the center of the county.²¹ Its selection seems to have been partially determined by desire to secure the county seat, for there was comparatively little water power at that point; the first mill was built on Prairie

15. Melish, *Geographical Description of the United States*, (ed. 1822), p. 389.

16. *Michigan House Documents* (1837), No. 9 (E), p. 55.

17. *History of Ottawa County*, 20.

18. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 235.

19. *Ibid.*, 222.

20. *Memorials of the Grand River Valley*, 35, 40.

21. *History of Ionia and Montcalm Counties*, 137.

Creek.²² Descriptions of the site of Lyons at the mouth of the Maple River suggest that of Grand Rapids, a fertile picturesque valley surrounded by hills overlooking the river, which afforded a fine water power.²³ As at Grand Rapids, there appears to have been an early trading post at this point. The lands at the mouth of the Lookingglass River also seem to have early attracted traders and settlers.²⁴

The impression which prospective agricultural settlers could have derived from Blois' description of Eaton County was not wholly favorable. As to the soil, it is described favorably as in the main a calcareous sandy loam with a thick covering of vegetable mould;²⁵ but for the timber, he agrees with all early reports of the prospective difficulties for the farmer, that the land was heavily forested excepting a narrow strip at the south. The county lay in a belt of heavy forest which extended through Barry County on the west and Ingham County on the east, and which materially retarded the settlement of those counties as well. A pioneer writer who has told much about early conditions in Eaton County quotes the report of the commissioners who located the county seat in 1833 as saying, that "the major part of this county is of the best quality of timbered land, possessing a great variety of soil and timber, generally well watered, and inviting to the emigrant who prefers a timbered farm."²⁶

22. *Ibid.*, 147. The later manufacturing there seems to have received its first impulse with the introduction of steam power about 1850.

23. *Ibid.*, 237.

24. The site of the present village of Portland.

25. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 219.

26. Edward W. Barber, in *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXIX, 344.

A narrow strip of oak openings extended across the southern end of the county below the heavily timbered area. The site of Bellevue lay at its northern edge on Battle Creek at a point favored with a degree of water power.²⁷ A second opening into the timber was in the southeast near the site of Eaton Rapids.²⁸ The few openings in the forest were among the first spots to attract settlers. The site of Charlotte near the center of the county was on a beautiful prairie of nearly a section of land, a favorite planting ground of the Indians where many trails crossed.²⁹ Vermontville Township, where was founded an important New England colony, is said to have resembled parts of the Champlain Valley of Vermont, and its selection for a Vermont settlement appears to have been influenced by this circumstance.³⁰ Building material besides timber was furnished by a quarry of sandstone in the northeastern part of the county and by an abundant deposit of limestone in the vicinity of Bellevue.³¹

Among the instructions to the agents of a colony from Rochester, New York, which settled in Clinton County in 1836 it is suggested, "You may be suited on the Thorn Apple River. We learn that there is a valuable tract of land near the center of Barry County;" the agents later reported, "Went to Barry County. We went but soon returned. Got satisfied that it was

27. *Ibid.*, III, 385; XXIX, 345.

28. *Ibid.*, XXIX, 385.

29. *Ibid.*, XXIX, 365.

30. *Ibid.*, XXIX, 382.

31. In later days the mineral springs at Eaton Rapids gained for that place a considerable reputation. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 427.

too heavily timbered, and rough, broken land, for us."³² The heavy timber appears to have been as in Eaton County mainly in the northern and eastern parts, the west being quite open. The sites of Yankee Springs and Middleville were in the oak openings³³ and the name of the present southwestern township of Prairieville bears witness to the original open character of that neighborhood. Its openness is further shown by the numerous lakelets of that region characteristic of extensive oak openings. The principal source of water power in Barry County was the Thornapple and its branches, to which was due largely the comparatively early dates of settlement at Middleville and Hastings.

The early physical environment of Clinton County was characterized by a comparatively level surface, good soil, extensive forests, and excellent water power on the Grand, the Maple and the Lookingglass.³⁴ In the water power is found the main explanation of the first settlements made in the county. The landscape at the junction of the Grand and the Prairie rivers, a site of one of the earliest settlements, is said to have been impressive in its beauty. Portions of the county, especially the southeast, appear to have had originally much swamp land.

Another heavily timbered area of this section was Ingham County, which however had many plains and openings. The water power was good, especially at

32. *Ibid.*, V, 330; *History of Shiawassee and Clinton Counties*, 424.

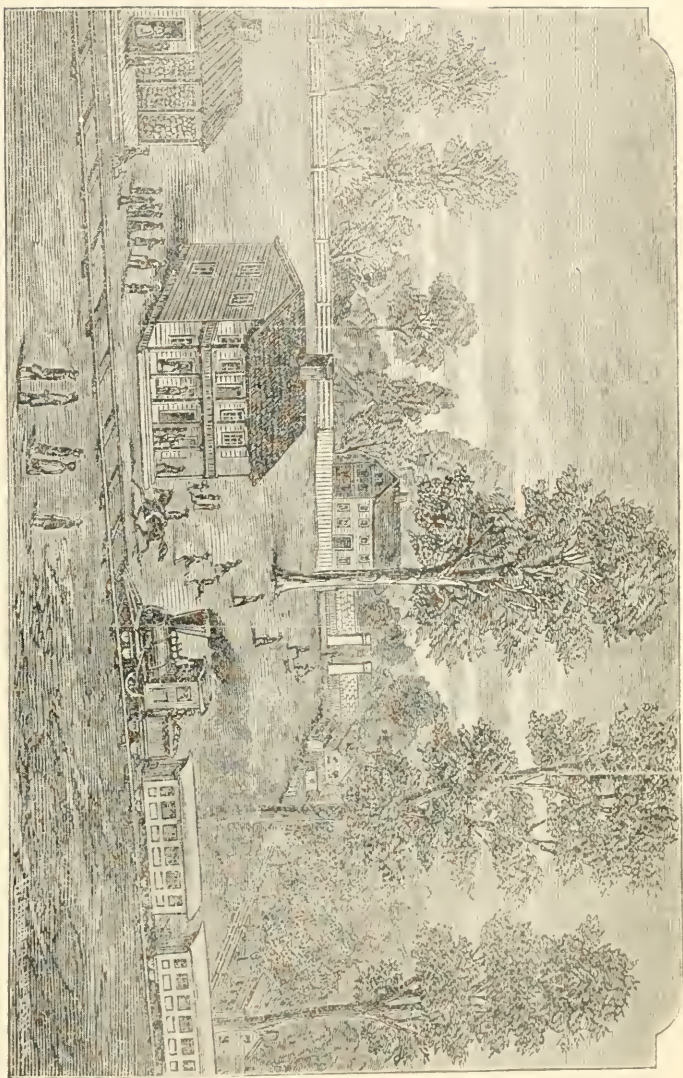
33. *History of Allegan and Barry Counties* (1880), 486, 514; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXVI, 303.

34. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 218; *History of Shiawassee and Clinton Counties*, 331, 403, 405.

the site of Lansing. Its soil was much like that of the adjacent counties. Near Lansing the land was comparatively level and the soil was a sandy and clayey loam. In places there was clay enough for making bricks; quantities of marl could be found in the lowlands; sand and gravel were plentiful; the boulder drift furnished building stone and the soil was excellent for cereals and fruits. But the heavy timber caused the country to be long without actual settlers.

Probably the earliest accounts of the Grand River region that gained the attention of intending agricultural settlers in the East were those emanating from the United States surveyors.³⁵ A Detroit paper of 1826 mentions the return of Lucius Lyon from a four months' surveying expedition through that region and gives a brief description of the lands about the rapids of the Grand River. Doubtless some vague reports may have emanated from the Indian mission which was located at these rapids, or from the furtraders. The early gazeteers consulted in the East, especially those of Melish, showed a general knowledge of the region that was fairly accurate. Some accounts were detrimentally misrepresentative of the whole of the interior of Michigan. But the Grand River region seems to have been thought distant and unpromising as compared with lands on the south and east, which were not only easier to reach but nearer to growing markets and developing lines of transportation.

35. *Michigan Herald*, April 26, 1826. Antedating these reports by some years the "Sciawassa Exploring Party" seems to have visited the Grand River country. See their proposed itinerary in the *Detroit Gazette* for October 5, 1821, and their *Journal* in the same paper for November 9, 1821, and subsequent issues.



DETROIT TO DEARBORN, 1837

(*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IV, 516)

First train to run out of Detroit over the line which later became the Michigan Central Railroad. See p. 81 (n. 113).

The earliest actual investigation made by a prospector who contemplated settlement in the Grand River region appears to be that reported in the *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser* for November 9, 1831. This practical farmer, purporting to have been a resident some ten years in the Territory and well acquainted with it, is quoted as follows: "The land adjoining it [the Grand River] is exceedingly fertile, abounding with prairies of the richest alluvial soil. The largest corn I ever saw was that raised by the Indians on these prairies. Many hundred farms might be conducted here, all of the best kind, and there would be but little choice. A gentleman who is now surveying the country and who is extensively acquainted in almost every part of the Territory accords with me in the opinion that the Grand River country, taking all its advantages into consideration, is the finest portion of our new Territory."

The routes taken by pioneers to the Grand River region were principally four; the so-called "Northern Route," the Grand River Road, the Territorial Road and the Great Lakes. The "Northern Route," extended from Pontiac westward across Shiawassee, Clinton and Ionia counties.³⁶ Though its difficulties prevented it from being the usual line of travel to and from the Grand River region, it appears to have been the earliest taken, a choice showing the closeness of relation between the Grand and the Saginaw valleys in the minds of pioneers. The short portage between the tributaries of the two river systems seems to have been early known, as appears for example in the projected

36. *Memorials of the Grand River Valley*, 34.

itinerary of the "Sciawassa Exploring Company" in 1821.³⁷ The exploration of 1831 reached the Grand by way of the Lookingglass.³⁸ The founder of the Ionia colony probably took a route near to this in 1832. According to an account left by his daughter,³⁹ he led his colonists from Detroit northward over the Saginaw Road to Pontiac, thence to the present village of Corunna; from which place, says another account, they hewed the way for their oxtteams through the forest to the Grand.⁴⁰ John Ball, a prominent early settler of Grand Rapids, is said to have passed over this route in 1836, finding it a day's journey from house to house between Ionia and Pontiac.⁴¹ The eastern part of this route was the natural one for the early settlers of Clinton County,⁴² though its first settlers, who are said to have come from Ann Arbor, apparently moved northward directly across the intervening country.⁴³

The middle route, along the Indian trail through Ingham and Livingston counties, appears to have been used little by settlers in reaching the Grand River

37. *Detroit Gazette*, October 5, 1821.

38. *Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser*, November 9, 1831.

39. Mrs. Prudence Tower, in *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXVIII, 146.

40. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 470, following the *Detroit Post and Tribune* of June 1, 1878. An Indian trail passed through the site of Lyons and the company was piloted by a French trader, who, it might be supposed, would follow it.

41. Goss, *History of Grand Rapids*, I, 117. The line traveled by these pioneers seems to have been approximately that surveyed in 1837 for the Northern Railroad (*Michigan House Documents* (1837), No. 9 (E), 50-54), and now traversed by the Grand Trunk Railroad.

42. *History of Shiawassee and Clinton Counties*, 394, 424.

43. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XVII, 410.

region before 1837. It was the shortest route, but it appears to have passed for much of its distance through heavy forests. It is said that the first wagon to pass through the region west of Howell was that of an Eaton County settler of 1836 who apparently took the line of this trail.⁴⁴ A pioneer gives a reminiscence of a trip from Detroit to White Oak, Ingham County, in 1836 that is not flattering to the conditions of travel at that time in the vicinity of this road.⁴⁵

The route which was by far the most commonly used to reach the region of the Grand River was the Territorial Road, extending westward from Ann Arbor through the counties of Jackson, Calhoun and Kalamazoo. Settlers branched off at the principal settlements on this road at Jackson, Marshall, Battle Creek and Kalamazoo, and followed the Indian trails or threaded the openings. The earliest settlers went west as far as Gull and Goguac prairies before turning northward. The men who came to work on the canal at Grand Rapids in 1835 floated their families and supplies thither from Jackson down the Grand River in flat bottomed scows; many settlers are said to have come later that way.⁴⁶ The first entrance into Eaton County was apparently made through the openings about the site of Bellevue.⁴⁷ Later, settlers left the

44. *Michigan Biographies*, 58.

45. *Past and Present of Lansing and Ingham County*, 9-20; from an article in the *Ingham County News*, April 5 and 12, 1872. The Territorial Road was followed as far as Ann Arbor. For a similar trip in 1838, see *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 189-190.

46. Goss, *History of Grand Rapids*, II, 886.

47. *History of Ingham and Eaton Counties*, 351; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 385; XXXI, 187.

road at Jackson and entered at the southeastern corner of the county through the more heavily wooded lands near the site of Eaton Rapids. An Indian trail led from Marshall through Bellevue and Vermontville to Ionia.⁴⁸ For teams, the forest north of Bellevue was almost impenetrable; in 1835 some forty settlers at Bellevue and Marshall subscribed \$150 to cut a road over this trail; the work appears not to have gotten at that time beyond the site of Vermontville. The settlement of Vermontville in 1836 again emphasized the need of this road and by combined efforts it was continued to Ionia.⁴⁹ It was over the southern part of this road that the first post route in Eaton County was established between Bellevue and Marshall.⁵⁰ The earliest relations of Eaton Rapids and Charlotte with the settlements southward seem to have been through Jackson; those of Ionia, Vermontville and Bellevue were apparently made through Marshall.⁵¹

The site of Grand Rapids was reached first from the south through the western part of Barry County. An Indian trail from the Potawatomi village at Kalamazoo led through Gull Prairie to the site of Yankee Springs, thence to Indian Middle Village and down the Thornapple River to its mouth at the site of Ada, where it connected with the trail along the Grand River through the sites of Ionia, Grand Rapids and Grand

48. *Memorials of the Grand River Valley*, 20.

49. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 385.

50. *Ibid.*, III, 384. John Ball, who returned from Detroit to Ionia in 1836 by the northern route as stated above made the going part of his journey over the southern route. Goss, *History of Grand Rapids*, I, 117.

51. Bellevue was first settled through the activities of Marshall men.

Haven.⁵² This route through the open country appears to have been the one that was usually taken by settlers on leaving the Territorial Road at Battle Creek or Kalamazoo for Grand Rapids.⁵³ The first team to arrive at Grand Rapids with immigrants seems to have come over this route from Gull Prairie,⁵⁴ and the first stage line from Grand Rapids to the Territorial Road appears to have followed the same to Battle Creek.⁵⁵ From Yankee Springs, lines of travel branched off eastward to Hastings and westward to Otsego and Allegan; the Indian trail to Grand Rapids by way of Green Lake and Gaines was sometimes followed.⁵⁶

The time consumed in traversing these several land routes necessarily varied, depending on the season, the condition of the roads, the means of conveyance and

52. *History of Barry County*, 33.

53. *Memorials of the Grand River Valley*, 34, 37.

54. *History of Kent County*, 218. According to Goss, the first teams to enter the Grand River Valley by way of Middleville came in 1832 to Grandville. *History of Grand Rapids*, I, 611. It is not stated whether these settlers came through Ada and Grand Rapids. In 1833 wagons loaded with provisions were driven to Grand Rapids across Gull Prairie by settlers of Sturgis in St. Joseph County. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XVIII, 520. The builder of the first mill at Grand Rapids came in the same year by that route. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IV, 289. The Ionia colony secured supplies from Gull Prairie, bringing them by wagon to the site of Middleville and from there in boats down the Thornapple and up the Grand River. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XIV, 562.

55. *History of Barry County*, 514; Goss, *History of Grand Rapids*, I, 615.

56. *Memorials of the Grand River Valley*, 34; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXVI, 303. A trail led to Grand Rapids from Allegan by way of Byron. *Memorials of the Grand River Valley*, 34, 37.

many individual circumstances. The colonists led by Dexter over the northern route in 1833 are said to have been sixteen days in going with oxtteams from Detroit to Ionia, but part of their time was consumed in cutting a way through heavy timber.⁵⁷ To take thirty days to go to Detroit and return seems not to have been thought extraordinary in the winter of 1836,⁵⁸ though under favorable conditions the round trip seems to have been possible in less than one-half of that time.⁵⁹

The water route around by the Great Lakes and the Grand River was longer than any of the land routes and seems to have been favored mainly for the transportation of supplies. Yet settlers are said to have come to the Grand River region by that way as late as 1837.⁶⁰ In 1833 the goods of the first settlers at Ionia were sent around by the Lakes;⁶¹ the first printing press reached Grand Rapids by that route, being brought up from Grand Haven on the ice by dog sleds.⁶² It is said that the early merchants of Ionia used to figure that it cost less to get their goods over the whole distance of the Lakes from New York to the mouth of the Grand River than it did to bring them from that point to Ionia.⁶³ As settlement in-

57. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 370.

58. *History of Ionia and Montcalm Counties*, 141.

59. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 102; *Memorials of the Grand River Valley*, 37. These accounts appear to refer to the Territorial Road.

60. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, V, 438; IX, 282.

61. *Ibid.*, XIV, 560; XXVIII, 147.

62. Goss, *History of Grand Rapids*, II, 900. The load broke through into the river but the press was later recovered.

63. *History of Ionia and Montcalm Counties*, 145.

creased, the primitive means of transportation on the river were succeeded by steamboats; in 1837, and for several years afterwards, a single steamboat running triweekly between Grand Rapids and Grand Haven appears to have sufficed for the needs of trade and passenger traffic.⁶⁴

The beginning of settlement in the lower Grand River Valley was in one respect like that in southwestern Michigan in that the first nucleus of civilization there was a Baptist mission and a trading post; these were located near the two Indian villages at the rapids of the Grand River.⁶⁵ The Carey Mission in Berrien County and that on the Grand River were both the direct results of the Chicago Indian treaty of 1821.⁶⁶ Their purpose in so far as it affected settlement is expressed in the instructions given by Lewis Cass to the missionary Isaac McCoy in 1822—to make the Indians friendly to the Government and to the settlers and to protect them from the sale of whiskey.⁶⁷ In the same year in which preparations were made to establish these missions John Seares, of New York City, was appointed to visit the Grand River and select a site for the mission; and between 1823 and 1826 Isaac McCoy of the Carey Mission made several visits to

64. Goss, *History of Grand Rapids*, II, 893.

65. A Catholic mission was established there in 1833, by Frederic Baraga. Goss, *History of Grand Rapids*, I, 81, 90; II, 1240. In 1825, and later, provisions were brought from the Carey mission by lake and river. Goss, *History of Grand Rapids*, I, 49.

66. Goss, *History of Grand Rapids*, I, 47.

67. *Ibid.*, I, 177. Seares seems to have selected a site somewhere above Grand Rapids on the river.

the region.⁶⁸ The lack of immediate success on the Grand River was owing to the attitude of the Indians, who at times, influenced by whiskey which they probably secured from the traders, were unfriendly; they are said to have burned the blacksmith shop in 1824.⁶⁹ It was not until 1827 when Leonard Slater and his wife came to take charge of the mission that the enterprise can be regarded as firmly established. McCoy reports that the mission was "in a state of dilapidation" at the time of his visit in 1829.⁷⁰ The presence of Slater and his wife, however, who are said to have been cultured people of strong character and whose work there covered the remainder of the Territorial period, could not but have been a wholesome influence for the early settlement of the place.⁷¹

68. *Ibid.*, I, 47, 48, 49, 77; McCoy, *History of the Baptist Indian Missions*, 292.

69. Goss, *History of Grand Rapids*, I, 48.

70. McCoy, *Indian Missions*, 390.

71. Goss, *History of Grand Rapids*, I, 81; the mission lands after the Indian treaty of 1836 were sold and the proceeds divided, the Baptists receiving \$12,000 and the Catholics \$8,000. According to a writer in the *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXV, 142, Leonard Slater was born in Worcester, Massachusetts, being on his mother's side of Scotch parentage. His father is said to have been a member of the Boston Tea Party, and his uncle the Slater who established the first cotton mill at Pawtucket, Rhode Island. The birthplace of his wife is given by this writer as Claremont, New Hampshire. Goss gives it as Vermont. *History of Grand Rapids*, I, 78. The family had come to the Carey mission the year before their advent to the Grand River mission, and removed with the latter after the Indian treaty of 1836 to Barry County. See also *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IV, 288 and *Hist. of Kent County*, 177. In 1852 Slater removed to Kalamazoo. In the Civil War he served as a hospital nurse, dying in 1866. Goss, *History of Grand Rapids*, I, 80.

The fur trade seems to have been prosecuted in the Grand River Valley at least as early as 1796; after the War of 1812 the earliest of the traders were Rix Robinson and Louis Campau. The latter was a native of Detroit, who established a post at the rapids on the Grand at about the same time as the beginning of the Baptist mission and became a permanent and influential settler of Grand Rapids.⁷²

Until the year 1833 the only white people who had come to the site of Grand Rapids or to any part of the lower Grand River Valley were the traders and the missionaries. The first land entered from the Grand River Valley appears to have been that taken up on the site of Grand Rapids in 1831 by the trader Louis Campau.⁷³ A small mission sawmill was built there in 1832, and in the same year a postoffice was established of which the missionary Slater was the first postmaster.⁷⁴ In 1832 there were nine log cabins in the vicinity, built probably by the traders.⁷⁵

72. He had formerly been employed by Detroit merchants to trade with the Indians in the Saginaw Valley. Goss, *History of Grand Rapids*, I, 74. There is a portrait of Campau as a frontispiece in Baxter's *History of Grand Rapids*. The family name is borne by the present Campau Square in Grand Rapids. See *History of Muskegon and Ottawa Counties*, 19-20, for a copy of Louis Campau's license as an Indian trader, signed in 1822 by William Woodbridge. An account of Campau's fur trading is given on pp. 23f, of the same work.

73. Goss, *History of Grand Rapids*, I, 82.

74. *Ibid.*, I, 79, 564.

75. *Ibid.*, I, 70. In Baxter's *History of Grand Rapids* (p. 52), there is an apparently authentic sketch of the Indian village, mission and trading post as they were in that year. Goss' description in *History of Grand Rapids*, 606-607, is apparently made from this sketch.

With the year 1833 there began a period of rapid growth in the settlement of Grand Rapids which lasted until the financial crisis of 1837.⁷⁶ In 1833 village lots sold for \$25 which brought \$560 two years later.⁷⁷ Two noteworthy impulses to settlement took place in 1833, the platting of the rival villages of Grand Rapids and Kent⁷⁸ and the accession of three families from the group recently established at Ionia.⁷⁹ In that year there appear to have been at Grand Rapids representatives of nine white families.⁸⁰ By the following year a gristmill was built, a second sawmill, and the first frame house.⁸¹

In the years 1835-37 the population of Grand Rapids is estimated to have increased from about 100 to 1,000 people.⁸² The *Detroit Daily Free Press* for June 3,

76. This new impulse to Grand Rapids' settlement was about contemporary with that at Chicago and Milwaukee.

77. Goss, *History of Grand Rapids*, I, 599.

78. By Louis Campau and Lucius Lyon, Government surveyors. *Memorials of the Grand River Valley*, 2.

79. *History of Kent County*, 218. See letter of Joel Guild, dated at Grand Rapids, December 23, 1833, to his brother and sister. He was from West Winfield, Herkimer County, New York.

80. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XVIII, 520. At the first township meeting April 4, 1834, nine votes were cast. Goss, *History of Grand Rapids*, I, 244.

81. Goss, *History of Grand Rapids*, 564, 571; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IV, 289. This house was built by Joel Guild, who came in 1833. The lumber was sawed by the old mission mill. This building served both as a dwelling and as the first public inn. See Baxter's *History of Grand Rapids*, (p. 761), for the style of frame houses in 1834.

82. *Memorials of the Grand River Valley*, 11. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 294. Goss considers 1,000 people a great exaggeration. *History of Grand Rapids*, I, 98. John Ball's estimate for 1837 is about 500. *Memorials of the Grand River Valley*, 37. There seems to have been no careful census taken

1836, estimates the population at about 500. The alleged advantages of the site were then rapidly gaining publicity. In the first number of *The Grand River Times*, which was published at Grand Rapids April 18, 1837, there appeared an article headed, "The Rochester of Michigan,"⁸³ in which the following claims upon the attention of settlers have significance. The site is first mentioned as a favorite with the Indians and the Indian traders; then comes a notice of the abundant water power, then facilities for steam navigation on the river, the prospect of a canal to connect lake navigation directly with Detroit, and easy connections with Chicago and Milwaukee; the excellence and abundance of timber and stone for building, the many natural springs, the purity of the water, and the fertility of the soil, follow; a description of the village is given, noting the extensive improvements already made, and the rising value of property; the healthfulness of the climate appears to have been regarded as a fitting climax. A report to the State legislature in 1837 declares, "This part of the country is being settled rapidly. The village of Kent is already an important point, and possesses many natural advantages, which is an earnest of its future augmentation in business

82. *Con.* until 1845. The Constitution of 1835 gave one representative to the counties of Ottawa, Kent, Ionia, and Clinton. John Ball's estimate places the number of voters in that district in the fall of 1837 at between 700 and 800. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 214.

83. There is a copy of this number of the *Grand River Times* in the Grand Rapids Public Library. The article mentioned is quoted in the *Memorials of the Grand River Valley*, 12-13. See also a notice of Grand Rapids in the *Detroit Daily Free Press* for June 3, 1836, which is claimed to be quoted from the *Adrian Watchtower*.

and population.”⁸⁴ Blois notes that the village is the seat of justice for Kent County, with “a church for Catholics, a printing office that issues a weekly paper, two banking associations, court house, twelve stores erected or erecting, three commodious hotels, four practicing physicians and six lawyers.”⁸⁵

The improvement of the water power on the Grand River at this point seems to have begun in 1835.⁸⁶ It first received legislative attention in 1836.⁸⁷ The compilers of the House Document referred to, speak of the extensive water power, the navigability of the river and the fertile character of the lands, in view of which they consider this a conspicuous location for “a very large manufacturing town.” Apparently a knowledge of the water power on the Grand River had made a definite impression on some minds at Rochester, New York; a part of the instructions of the Ionia colony to their agents in 1836 observes, “The Grand River is said to embrace water privileges which must be of great value. Look well to the village of Grand Rapids, and the country south of it; for that place must be of

84. *Michigan House Documents*, 1837, No. 9 (E), 54.

85. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 292. Baxter's *History of Grand Rapids* (pp.762-763), contains pictures of residences of this period, two of which were built by well-to-do citizens in 1837. See John Ball's description of the houses and people of this time, in Goss' *History of Grand Rapids*, I, 118.

86. Goss, *History of Grand Rapids*, I, 608. The dam is said not to have been finished until 1849, and the canal on the east side not until 1850.

87. *Session Laws* (1835-36), 105. Act of March 4 to authorize the building of a dam across the river.

importance.”⁸⁸ The first mills at Grand Rapids were built on neighboring creeks. In 1836-37 there was in process of erection on the Grand River a mill known as the “Mammoth Mill,” which is said to have been the largest and most expensive mill in the western states.⁸⁹ The manufacture of furniture appears to have begun on a small scale at about this time.⁹⁰

The demands of trade were naturally miscellaneous and small. Provisions were very high in 1836-37; from a contemporary letter it appears that in the winter of 1836 flour was \$15 per barrel, oats \$1, potatoes \$1.25, pork \$14.00 per hundred pounds, butter \$.37½, and other things in proportion; board was \$4.50 a week.⁹¹ Money was plentiful but most of it was spent for land. The high prices of 1837 were owing partly to the distance of transporting the goods, but mainly they were due to the scarcity of coin and the depreciation of bank mediums of exchange that affected all parts of the country.

In 1836 came the apparent opportunity of the ori-

88. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, V, 330. It is added: “We have heard that a railroad has been laid out from that place to Monroe.”

89. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 293. He says it was five stories high, the first two stories being of stone. Both lumber and flour were to be made by it. Blois states that it would cost when completed about \$50,000. Goss says that in 1837 eight sawmills were in operation within a circle of eight miles around Grand Rapids, cutting an average of 3,000,000 feet of lumber a year. *History of Grand Rapids*, I, 565.

90. *History of Kent County*, 274. Before 1850, according to Goss, there were only three important furniture factories in Grand Rapids. Goss, *Hist. of Grand Rapids*, II, 1045.

91. *Ibid.*, I, 137.

ginal proprietors of the village to amass great wealth. Lots are said to have sold at \$50 a foot on Canal and Kent streets.⁹² But recklessness of speculation in the Grand River Valley brought profits to naught. A good illustration is furnished by the experience of Antoine Campau, which does not appear to have been unusual; for a piece of land which he had bought he was offered successively \$100, \$300, \$500, \$800 and upward; he is quoted as saying: "I thought if it was worth so much to them, it was worth so much to me. But finally I offered to sell. Then the value dropped and every offer was lower than before. Finally I was offered \$300, and thought I would go down and see the place. When I got there I couldn't see it. I asked everybody where it was, and hired a friend to look it up. I could not find it, he could not find it, the record could not find it, nobody could find it—it was under more than twenty feet of water."⁹³ It appears to have been located well out in Lake Michigan. Few of those who received enormous sums for their Grand Rapids lands got rich, because most of them reinvested their money in other lands and in the following year land was a drug on the market.

The financial panic, which began to be felt in Detroit as early as June, 1837, was not long in affecting

92. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 95. According to Goss, all the lands of the village east of the river were bought before 1836, those on the west side not being for sale until after the extinction of the Indian title and the public surveys. The earliest patent granted on the west side was in 1839. *History of Grand Rapids*, I, 85. See for plat of village in 1836, Baxter's *History of Grand Rapids*, XIV.

93. Goss, *History of Grand Rapids*, I, 98.

conditions in the Grand River Valley. John Ball,⁹⁴ who was in Detroit just before and after the crash came, reports that though in April all seemed to promise well, by June "faces had so changed that one could hardly recognize his acquaintances; and it was taken as an insult for one to speak of land operations."⁹⁵

The population of Grand Rapids in 1836-37 was made up chiefly of mechanics, land speculators, and the French who had come there through the influence of Louis Campau.⁹⁶ As sources of the American population, mention is oftenest made of the states of New

94. John Ball's activities furnish a good illustration of land buying at this time and in the years following. He came to Michigan in 1836 as an agent of parties in Troy, New York, though his contract permitted him to invest in the lands of any nonslaveholding State in the West, he to receive one-fourth of the profits. At Detroit he was directed to the Grand River country. It seems to be the unanimous testimony of writers on that region that he did more for the early settlement of Grand Rapids and vicinity than any other one man. See his extensive narrative of early experiences in *Memorials of the Grand River Valley*, 13ff. This narrative is incompletely quoted in Goss' *History of Grand Rapids*, I, 113. Baxter's *History of Grand Rapids*, (112, 113), contains a biographical sketch and portrait of Mr. Ball. See also *Michigan Biographies*, p. 64, for his public career in Michigan.

95. *Memorials of the Grand River Valley*, 23, 42, 43. There appears to have been more speculation in the vicinity of Grand Rapids than at Ionia. *Ibid.*, 34. In a settler's letter written from Grand Rapids in the winter of 1836, quoted by Goss, the writer says, "I have had more silver and gold in my house this winter than a pair of horses could draw." *History of Grand Rapids*, I, 137.

96. *Memorials of the Grand River Valley*, 34; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXVIII, 95; *Detroit Daily Free Press*, June 3, 1836.

York, Vermont and Connecticut.⁹⁷ About 1837 the troubles which culminated in the so-called "Patriot War" seem to have caused a considerable immigration to the Grand River Valley.⁹⁸

Religious and cultural institutions were even at this early day not neglected. A school district was organized for Grand Rapids and its vicinity in 1835, and in that year was opened the first school that was exclusively for white children.⁹⁹ A branch of the University had been located there. In 1835 the Ohio conference of the Methodist church indicated the chief available centers for religious instruction at that time in establishing preaching stations along the Grand River at Grand Rapids, Ionia, Portland, Grandville and Grand Haven.¹⁰⁰ New England traditions appear in the establishment of a Congregational Society at Grand Rapids in 1836.¹⁰¹ Despite the early Baptist mission and the labors of the Methodists and the Presbyter-

97. See in particular *Memorials of the Grand River Valley*, 37. The county was named for the jurist, Chancellor Kent, of New York. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 214; Goss, *History of Grand Rapids*, I, 486.

98. *Memorials of the Grand River Valley*, 25. See for names of prominent early settlers of Grand Rapids, *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IV, 293; V, 438; XXXV, 87-106.

99. Goss, *History of Grand Rapids*, I, 319-320. A frame school-house was not built until 1839. *Ibid.*, II, 1124.

100. At Grand Rapids the first Methodist Society was established in 1835-36, but the first Church building, the Division Street Methodist Church, was dedicated in 1843. *Ibid.*, II, 1127.

101. *Ibid.*, II, 1145. The property of the Park Congregational Church was bought by that society in 1831. *Ibid.*, II, 1147.

ians, the Congregational element seems to have been predominant in Grand Rapids in 1837.¹⁰²

There were in 1837 very few white settlers in Kent County outside of Grand Rapids and its immediate neighborhood. The most promising points for villages seem to have been Grandville, Ada, and Lowell. For Grandville, which was located some miles below the Rapids of the Grand, Blois records an estimation of about 200 people, and from his account it must have been considered a brisk rival of Grand Rapids.¹⁰³ Ada, at the junction of the Grand and the Thornapple, is mentioned by Blois as containing a postoffice and a few inhabitants.¹⁰⁴ He does not mention Lowell, but this place seems to have received settlers in 1835-36.¹⁰⁵ The first settlers in this vicinity came from Scipio, New York, in 1836.^{105a}

In 1833, the same year in which Grand Rapids re-

102. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, V, 438; Blois mentions besides the Catholic Church only the Presbyterians and the Episcopalians as having "organized churches and settled ministers." *Gazetteer*, 292.

103. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 296. He mentions a postoffice, seven saw mills, three stores, one hotel, two smitheries, a sash factory, a warehouse, several mechanic shops, two lawyers, and a physician. The date of first settlement is given as 1835.

104. *Ibid.*, 245. He mentions also, under the name of Erie, what appears to have been a rival village near the same site. *Ibid.*, 284. Ada was the site of a trading post established in 1821 by Rix Robinson who became a prominent pioneer of the Grand River Valley, and later a State senator from Kent County. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IV, 288; *Memorials of the Grand River Valley*, 171. For his public career see *Michigan Biographies*, 559.

105. See *History of Lowell*, in the appendix to Baxter's *History of Grand Rapids*, 798.

105a. *Memorials of the Grand River Valley*, 210.

ceived its first marked stimulation to white settlement, a colony of sixty-three persons settled at Ionia.¹⁰⁶ It comprised six families, together with a few adult single persons, under the leadership of Samuel Dexter. Dexter was a native of Rhode Island, had served in the legislature of his adopted State, New York, and was destined to become a leading pioneer in the Grand River Valley.¹⁰⁷ In 1832 by the aid of an Indian guide from Detroit he located the site of Ionia, then a resort of Indians and traders. It is said that Dexter would have preferred the site where Lyons is had it not been previously taken.¹⁰⁸ In the spirit of Roger Williams, Dexter purchased the rights of the Indians in the crops they had planted at the site of Ionia, and their five bark wigwams made the first shelter of the colony.¹⁰⁹ This appears not to have been a formally organized colony like those at Vermontville in Eaton County and Duplain in Clinton County but simply a band of independent settlers. They came to the site of Ionia on the representations of Mr. Dexter, selecting independently their own land after their arrival.¹¹⁰ The nucleus of the band, starting from Frankfurt village in Herkimer County, New York, gathered others on their way to Michigan, particularly at Utica and at Syracuse.¹¹¹ The hymn of thanksgiving which was

106. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 193; V, 326; IX, 234; XXVIII, 147.

107. *Michigan Biographies*, 227. This was not Samuel W. Dexter for whom a village is named in Washtenaw County. So far as the writer can learn there was no relation between these two settlements.

108. *History of Ionia and Montcalm Counties*, 137.

109. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XIV, 560; XXVIII, 146.

110. *Ibid.*, XIV, 562.

111. *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 145.

composed and sung on their arrival at the site of Ionia reflects the deep religious nature of these settlers.¹¹²

Settlement in this neighborhood increased gradually during the years 1834-35. In 1836 as a result of the Indian treaty the Kalamazoo land district was subdivided and a land office was opened at Ionia in view of the need of a more convenient point for settlers to enter land purchased in the Grand River Valley.¹¹³ The flow of land seekers and speculators to that center is described as resembling the stir of a country village in fair time. Many applicants are said to have waited weeks for the chance to make their entry at the land office.¹¹⁴ Money was plentiful, trade flourished and taverns did a profitable business.¹¹⁵ However, it is commonly said that the establishment of the land office at Ionia was in the long run unfortunate for both the village and the county. On the tide of immigration came many poor men who were unprovided with specie, but who if they could have obtained it on favorable terms would soon have added to the wealth of the county the products of industrious home

112. A copy of this hymn appears in *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXVIII, 147.

113. Dexter had been obliged to go to White Pigeon in St. Joseph County to enter his original purchase. *History of Ionia and Montcalm Counties*, 137. An item in the *Detroit Daily Advertiser* of September 9, 1836, setting the event for October, gave intending purchasers a month's notice of this greater convenience, though the lands recently acquired from the Indians were not on sale until 1839.

114. *History of Ionia and Montcalm Counties*, 141.

115. Supplies were brought from Detroit and Pontiac, and the first goods for a store are said to have been poled up the river from Grand Haven in that year. *Ibid.*, 140, 141.

builders. It is charged that the officials practiced favoritism and that they were in collusion with a broker's office which raked off twenty cents on the dollar at the expense of the poorer settlers, who were most in need of its services. Many settlers turned away rather than be thus defrauded; much of the best land fell into the hands of speculators who held it out of market for many years, awaiting higher prices.¹¹⁶ Those settlers who did stay seem not, as in Kent county, to have had the platting of villages and the sale of corner lots chiefly in view, but gave attention at once to the planting of crops in preparation for an independent living.¹¹⁷

It is significant that Blois should give a much less extended notice of "Ionia Center" than he does of Grandville in Kent County. Ionia contained according to his account, besides the postoffice and land office, a flouring mill, three sawmills in the vicinity, a turning machine and sash factory, two stores, a lawyer and a physician; and several fine buildings are mentioned as having been built during 1837.¹¹⁸

Besides Ionia, only two points in that county appear to have been thought sufficiently central to the population in 1837 to have postoffices; these were Lyons and Portland.¹¹⁹ The village of Lyons was founded in 1836

116. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 473; *History of Ionia and Montcalm Counties*, 142.

117. *Memorials of the Grand River Valley*, 34.

118. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 303-304. The village was incorporated in 1835 and became the county seat the following year. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 193; III, 474.

119. Lyons obtained a postoffice in 1836, and Portland in 1837. The only other offices established before 1840 were at Maple, Otisco, and Waterville (1838). *History of Ionia and Montcalm Counties*, 125.

by Lucius Lyon, a well-known United States surveyor who owned part of the plat of Grand Rapids and had an interest in many budding villages of the period.¹²⁰ The village of Lyons is given fully as much space and attention by Blois as Ionia;¹²¹ at Portland there appear to have been a half dozen families in 1837. Saranac village, which Blois does not notice, is mentioned in the *Detroit Daily Free Press* for January 16, 1836, as having been platted at a power site on the Grand River at the mouth of Lake Creek. Almost all of the present townships of the county had received their first settlers by 1837.¹²²

The early settlers of Ionia County came mainly from New York.¹²³ A settlement in Boston Township in

120. *Ibid.*, 237; *Memorials of the Grand River Valley*, 65. Lucius Lyon was also proprietor of the village of Schoolcraft on Prairie Ronde in Kalamazoo County. His importance was sufficient to make him the first congressional delegate to be elected west of Detroit (1832-35), and also to make him a United States Senator in 1835. He was a native of Shelburne, Vermont. *Michigan Biographies*, 426. It is said that a mill was started on Libhart Creek about two miles west of Lyons in 1833 by New York parties.
121. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 315. Among other things Blois credited it with two stores, "a fine hotel" and "several elegant private dwellings," between twenty and thirty more being contracted for. See *Memorials of the Grand River Valley*, 37, where this view is much modified.
122. The population of the two organized townships of the county in 1837 was 1,028, *Michigan Legislative Manual* (1838), 75; *Session Laws*, (1837), 36, 37. In the following year the county was divided into six townships. *Session Laws* (1838), 79, 80, 83. Kent County had in 1837 a population of 2,022, *Michigan Legislative Manual* (1838), 71, 75.
123. *History of Ionia and Montcalm Counties*, 175, 223, 265, 278. As noted above the members of the Ionia colony were mainly from Herkimer County, New York, and the first

1836-37 is said to have been made by a Vermont family, followed by a number of others from that State.¹²⁴ The earliest settlers of Portland (1833) were among the few Englishmen in the county at this period.¹²⁵

As in Ionia and Kent counties, the first entrance of the white man to Ottawa County was marked by the establishment of a trading post for traffic with the Indians.¹²⁶ The site of Grand Haven is said to have been chosen in 1827 by the fur trader Rix Robinson as headquarters for the operations of the American Fur Company in western Michigan.¹²⁷ Robinson was the sole manager of some twenty trading posts of that company, and the consequent importance of the point as headquarters gave it a number of the company's buildings and a certain preeminence in the appearance of a settlement that was attractive to home seekers. Apparently foreseeing the early settlement of

123. *Con.* settlers at Lyons were from that State. Probably some of these were born in New England states. Samuel Dexter was a native of Rhode Island, and Lucius Lyons, of Vermont.

124. *Ibid.*, 192.

125. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XIV, 622; XVII, 411; *Memorials of the Grand River Valley*, 37.

126. The name of the county is derived from the Ottawa Indians, and is said to mean "trader." An account of these Indians in this county is given in the *History of Ottawa County*, 18-19.

127. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IX, 235. See *History of Ottawa County*, 20-21, for a recital of Robinson's trading operations at this point. Robinson's headquarters are usually associated with Ada, above Grand Rapids at the mouth of the Thornapple. In 1857 a monument was erected at Ada to his memory. He was a State senator from Kent County, 1846-49, and a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1850. *Michigan Biographies*, 559.

the place, in the early twenties Robinson preempted a quarter section of land on the river front.¹²⁸ In 1833 a settler of Ionia came to Grand Haven as a clerk in his employ.¹²⁹

The first beginnings at Grand Haven that looked toward interests other than the fur trade came with two events of 1834, the arrival of William M. Ferry and his family and the organization of the Grand Haven Company. Ferry came to that place as the agent of Robert Stuart, of Detroit, a Scotchman in the employ of the American Fur Company, who had bought a half interest in Rix Robinson's preemption on the lower Grand.¹³⁰ In 1835 the Grand Haven Company in which he was concerned laid out the village, built a mill and bought land there. They also became owners of two mills at Grandville and built a boat on the river. In the winter of 1835-36 the little colony experienced what old settlers long remembered

128. *History of Ottawa County*, 38, 39.

129. *Ibid.*, 38.

130. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IX, 238-239; XXX, 572-573; *History of Ottawa County*, 38, 39. As related in the *History of Ottawa County*, William M. Ferry was born in Granby, Mass., in 1796, of a poor family. He early taught school, graduating from Union College at Schenectady, New York, and he later studied theology in the seminary at New Brunswick, New Jersey. He established a mission at Mackinac about 1822. Ill health is assigned as the reason for his leaving the mission in 1834 and entering into business relations. He was for many years a strong religious and cultural influence at Grand Haven, dying there in 1876. His public bequests are said to have amounted to \$137,000. His family gained some distinction in State and national affairs. *Michigan Biographies*, 266. His wife was a native of Ashfield, Mass.

as "the starving time,"¹³¹ and in 1836-37 shared with the rest of the Grand River Valley in an era of speculation and subsequent hard times. During the period of speculation Ferry and Robinson owned the village plat, and lots are said to have been held at high prices.¹³² By 1837 the village contained "three steam sawmills, two stores, a large grocery establishment, six spacious warehouses, a druggist and two physicians." Blois credits it further with "upward of 400 inhabitants" and speaks optimistically of its advantages for trade and commerce.¹³³ A vessel carrying lumber and passengers is said to have begun to make regular trips between Grand Haven and Chicago in 1836.

The first settlement of consequence in Ottawa County outside of Grand Haven was made in 1836 by several related families who settled up the Grand River in what was later called from their family name, Robinson Township. Their number is commonly given as forty-two. They appear to have been relatives of Rix Robinson.¹³⁴ At about the same time Dr. Timothy Eastman, a native of Maine, settled up the river in the pinery at the site of the village which bears his name.

Besides Grand Haven, Blois mentions no village centers in this county that are known as such today. There was a notable attempt however to foster a vil-

131. See *Memorials of the Grand River Valley*, 416, for an account of Nathan White's expedition to Battle Creek for food.

132. *Memorials of the Grand River Valley*, 40.

133. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 291. Grand Haven secured the county seat in 1838.

134. *Memorials of the Grand River Valley*, 415; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IX, 282.

lage intended to outrival both Grand Haven and Grand Rapids, which may serve as a typical illustration of the so-called "paper town" of that day. As the story is related in the *History of Ottawa County*, the village was started by capitalists of New York and Philadelphia who formed for the purpose a joint stock arrangement known as the Port Sheldon Company. The company had wished to build a village on the site of Grand Haven, but the Grand Haven Company was first on the ground, and satisfactory terms could not be made. This was the feature apparently that led to the determination to crush out Grand Haven by getting the start of it in development. A site was chosen on the north side of what is now Pigeon Lake or Creek on the lake shore south of Grand Haven. Operations were begun in the fall of 1837. Lake vessels brought provisions, together with a few small houses ready to set up, and about forty men. Thereupon a city of 124 blocks was laid out. An elegantly engraved map was made of the city and harbor and widely circulated. Roads were cut, a charter was obtained for a railroad, a lighthouse was built, and a hotel was erected at a cost, it is said, of from thirty to forty thousand dollars; \$15,000 were expended on a mill; fifteen small dwellings were built; it is said that in 1838 about 300 people were there, mainly the employees of the company. While the people on the Grand River "thanked God for a steady supply of salt pork and flour," says one writer, the people at Port Sheldon "revelled in champagne and sumptuous suppers." But a harbor was found impracticable. The financial crash obliterated the "city." It is said that the hotel and thirty

lots sold for less than the cost of the glass and paint, and that the remainder of the land was bought for its hemlock bark.¹³⁵

The only line of settlement in Ottawa County in this period was the Grand River. It was practically the only highway through the forest and hence the best means of communication with the other settlements of the valley. The first farms were on the south side of the river, the lands on the other side not being surveyed until after the Indian treaty of 1836. There were a few settlers on the north side very early, but they were "squatters." The land did not come on the market until 1839. It appears to be true that the number of these squatters was increased by the action of speculators who rapidly bought up the lands on the south side of the river and held them for a rise in prices.¹³⁶ Blois reports in 1838 that settlement was rapidly increasing on both sides of the river.¹³⁷ In 1837 there appears to have been a squatter at Lamont, a point which became a center for the radiation of settlement into the future townships of Polkton and Talmadge.¹³⁸ The heavy pine land had little attraction for farmers and was held for its pine largely by nonresidents. Robinson Township, two decades after

135. *History of Ottawa County*, 35-36; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IX, 227-228; *Memorials of the Grand River Valley*, 486-491. Port Sheldon is not mentioned by Blois, but he mentions Charleston and Ottawa, both on the Grand at the junction of small creeks, and obviously "paper towns," (pp. 262, 336).

136. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IX, 252, 255, 263, 280; *History of Ottawa County*, 26.

137. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 236.

138. *Memorials of the Grand River Valley*, 40, 503.

it received the settlers above mentioned, mustered but eighteen voters at the first township election.¹³⁹

The lands of the present Muskegon County were included at that time in Ottawa. Only the Indian traders, who were more or less transient, visited them until 1836-37¹⁴⁰ when very slight beginnings of settlement were made about Muskegon Lake near the mouth of Muskegon River.¹⁴¹ A steam mill was built in 1837 by a stock company whose members lived mainly at Detroit and Ann Arbor; but the financial panic killed the enterprise, and the machinery was moved to Grand Rapids.¹⁴² The village of Muskegon was not platted until 1849.¹⁴³ The county was not established until a decade later.¹⁴⁴

The sources of the earliest settlers in Ottawa County were much the same as in the other counties of the lower Grand River Valley. Apparently a somewhat larger proportion came directly from New England states.¹⁴⁵ The first owners of the village plat of Grand

139. *Memorials of the Grand River Valley*, 495. For this reason, after the first river locations, it was the lands away from the river that were taken up and settled the most rapidly. *Ibid.*, 500.

140. *History of Muskegon County*, 49-50; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 291.

141. *History of Muskegon County*, 31, 51; *Memorials of the Grand River Valley*, 436, 439.

142. *Memorials of the Grand River Valley*, 432-434; *History of Muskegon County*, 24.

143. *History of Muskegon County*, 50.

144. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 473.

145. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IX, 263 for a notice of the first farmers of the county. *Memorials of the Grand River Valley* (in the supplement, pp. 1-74), contains biographical sketches of the pioneers of the Grand River Valley.

Haven are said to have been born in Granby, Massachusetts, and Cayuga County, New York.¹⁴⁶

The settlement of Eaton County differed in at least one marked respect from that of the three counties on the lower Grand River, in that its first important centers of population, with one exception, were not on the main stream of that river. This was partly because of the heavy timber along the Grand in that portion of its course, and partly because the Grand was not so central to the county; and again, water power was furnished elsewhere in more open land. In 1832 Isaac E. Crary, of Marshall, bought land upon which in 1835 he platted the village of Bellevue.¹⁴⁷ With him was associated Reverend John D. Pierce, also of Marshall, at whose solicitation the site is said to have received its first settler in 1834, from Ithaca, New York.¹⁴⁸ The site of Bellevue was chosen for water power, openness and beauty. It was a burr-oak plain on the banks of the Battle Creek, said to have been the only valuable power site on that stream.¹⁴⁹ Its first settler, who arrived on a June day in 1834,

146. *History of Ottawa County*, 38; *Michigan Biographies*, 559.

147. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 387; XXIX, 349-350; see the *History of Ingham and Eaton Counties*, 405-410, for the first land entries and early settlement of the county.

148. This was the second settler in the county. The first settlement was made in the preceding year in the openings a little south of Bellevue by a native of Montgomery, Maryland, who emigrated to Michigan from Palmyra, Ontario County, New York, in 1833. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXIX, 352; *History of Ingham and Eaton Counties*, 351. The early settlers of Bellevue are said to have come mainly from New York, Massachusetts and Vermont. *History of Ingham and Eaton Counties*, 407.

149. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXIX, 345.

describes it with the exaggerated enthusiasm of the satisfied pioneer as "the most beautiful spot I have ever seen;" the fragrance of its grass and flowers, he declares, reminded him of the Garden of Eden.¹⁵⁰ The pioneer luxury of sawed lumber was supplied by a sawmill built there in 1834 or 1835, owned apparently by Mr. Pierce and Mr. Crary of Marshall; it supplied also the first lumber used at Battle Creek.¹⁵¹

The population of Bellevue in 1835 is said to have comprised nine families and six single men, but such was its growth that in 1838 Blois records an estimated population of about 400.¹⁵² He says it then had three sawmills and that preparations were being made for a flouring mill. Enthusiastic imagination placed it "at the head of navigation for boats" on Battle Creek. Among the natural resources contributing largely to its early development was a large area of limestone of excellent quality which is said to have been worked almost from the beginning of settlement there. The desire to market the lime led to unsuccessful attempts to navigate the Creek to Kalamazoo River as early as 1835.¹⁵³ Blois reports six kilns in operation, which supplied the country with lime for a distance of fifty miles around.¹⁵⁴ As "the jumping-off place into the wilderness" northward from the Territorial Road, and

150. *Ibid.*, III, 386. The name of Bellevue is suggestive of its original beauty.

151. *Ibid.*, III, 385, 389. The position of Bellevue on the Battle Creek, a branch of the Kalamazoo River, classifies it properly with the settlements of that river.

152. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 254; see *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 392, for the early settlers of 1835-36.

153. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 385, 394.

154. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 254.

“the coming-out place of the burrowing settler” the site of Bellevue was early fixed upon for a hotel to accommodate travelers; the first hotel was built in 1836.¹⁵⁵ The village gained much early importance from the sessions of the county court held there, it being some time before the county buildings were erected at Charlotte.

In the same year that Mr. Crary purchased the site of Bellevue(1832) the United States surveyor of the county bought the site of Charlotte; and in the following year, before there was a white settler in the county, he secured for it the county seat.¹⁵⁶ Through his efforts, it is said, Charlotte received its first family in 1836, by way of Bellevue.¹⁵⁷ It seems to have been not until 1837 that the village plat was recorded.¹⁵⁸ This fertile central prairie would doubtless have been settled more rapidly had it not been for the dense forests characteristic of this part of the county, and lack of water power.

One of the most notable of the early New England settlements in Michigan was that at Vermontville, a

155. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 385.

156. The surveyor, George W. Barnes, appears to have settled at Gull Prairie in Kalamazoo County, and did not become a resident of Charlotte. *History of Ingham and Eaton Counties*, 354, 380, 381, 518. The village was named for the wife of one of the first settlers, who purchased the site from Mr. Barnes. *Ibid.*, 385, quoting a letter dated 1835.

157. *Ibid.*, 380. Pages 381 and 457 of the same volume give 1835 as the date of the first settlers. The date 1837 is given in *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXIX, 366

158. *History of Ingham and Eaton Counties*, 385; the names of the four original proprietors of the village are given in *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXIX, 342.

formally organized colony of Vermont settlers with definitely expressed religious and educational purposes.¹⁵⁹ It was not unlike a Puritan exodus from England, or like that led by the Reverend Thomas Hooker from Boston to the Connecticut Valley in 1636.¹⁶⁰ The character of the colony appears in the nature of the compact formed among its members—the “Rules and Regulations of the Union Colony.” The essential principles were education and religion. In the preamble, reference was made to material prosperity and to the advantages of association, but these were evidently regarded only as means to the end upon which the founders laid all of the emphasis.¹⁶¹

A writer has observed that the records show the Vermontville church to have played an important part in the government of the early village.¹⁶² The propor-

159. It is given an extended notice in Mrs. Mathews' *Expansion of New England*. The portion of Mrs. Mathews' work that is devoted to Michigan is worthy of careful reading. In choosing Vermontville, however, the author took for illustration an exceptional settlement instead of the prevailing type.

160. Indeed the portion of Vermont from which these settlers came had been settled some fifty years before from Connecticut and Massachusetts. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXVIII 218; XXXI, 183.

161. A copy of the “Rules” is printed in *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXVIII, 204, and in the *History of Ingham and Eaton Counties*, 517. The third clause of the preamble reads, “Whereas, we believe that a removal to the West may be the means of promoting our temporal interests, and we trust to be made subservient to Christ's kingdom.” Clause six is significant for education, “We also agree that, for the benefit of our children and the rising generation, we will endeavor, so far as possible, to carry with and perpetuate among us the same literary privileges that we are permitted here to enjoy.”

162. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXVIII, 256-257.

tion of church members in the colony was large; it is said that of the heads of families in the original colony all but two were members of the Congregational Church, or became so.¹⁶³ The principles of government exercised directly by the people were thus transplanted to the new land both through church and town-meeting. It was probably no small advantage from the viewpoint of material prosperity that the village early made, as at Romeo, a reputation for culture and good government.¹⁶⁴

These settlers are said to have come almost entirely from the Vermont counties of Addison, Bennington and Rutland, a region that was commonly referred to as the Champlain Valley.¹⁶⁵ The leader, the Reverend Sylvester Cochrane, was a Congregational minister at East Poultney; the "Rules" were signed at Castleton. The native states of many of the settlers, however, were probably Connecticut and Massachusetts.

There was a great variety of occupations represented, comprising farmers, merchants and physicians; a wheelwright, a cooper, a tanner and furrier; a cabinet maker, a chair maker, a tailor, a printer, a black smith, a machinist, a student and a surveyor; besides the clergyman. Farmers¹⁶⁶ made up fully one-half of the number. The great variety of others, one of each, suggests that some sort of selection may have been

163. *Ibid.*

164. See interesting observations upon this phase of settlement in *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXIX, 390.

165. In the *History of Ingham and Eaton Counties*, 518, are given the name, residence and occupation of each of the forty-two signers of the "rules," but only twenty-two of these appear to have become settlers in the colony.

166. See note above.

made, but it is quite probable that conditions in Vermont did not affect specially any particular class; farmers were naturally the most numerous in the community; the "Michigan fever" was probably prevalent there, emigration having been in process from that region for some years to New York, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin and Michigan.¹⁶⁷

The character of the "promised land" as outlined by the Rev. Sylvester Cochrane was not different from what was usually desired by settlers emigrating to Michigan. The site of this colony was to be healthful, with good water, and a rich and varied soil, interspersed with wood and prairie; it should be if possible on or near a waterfall, with prospect of speedy settlement and good markets, and where a canal or railroad might cross, or in the center of a county near some navigable water;¹⁶⁸ in addition, the area of the site should be at least three miles square. The agents of the company, like those of the Rochester colony in Clinton County, are said to have prospected without success in Barry County and to have been attracted to Eaton County by chance information from a surveyor whom they met at Battle Creek.¹⁶⁹ On investigating they were disappointed to find that in the openings all lands as large as the desired area were taken. At length they found a place which resembled closely the native Champlain Valley. It was on the

167. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXVIII, 203; XXXI, 183. Vermont settlers were among the earliest to settle in Michigan, as the reminiscences, diaries, memoranda and papers in the *Michigan Historical Collections* abundantly show.

168. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXVIII, 206.

169. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXVIII, 209.

Indian trail, hardly yet a road, from Marshall to Ionia, but it lacked many of the advantages desired; there was no waterfall, and there was no navigable water except for very small boats; it was in dense timber, removed from the center of the county and distant from markets.¹⁷⁰ The situation well illustrates the amount and condition of settlement in the county at that time.

The first settlers of this colony came in 1836, but there was a larger immigration in 1837-38. It was not an auspicious time to begin a colony, especially in dense timber and with other handicaps; for the panic came and the "Michigan fever" lost its grip on intending settlers. The colony found itself the possessor of much land and timber that would have to wait for a rise in prices to be profitable. But the colony had the signal advantage of moral purpose which enabled it to survive the hard times. Helpful relations were early established with Bellevue, Charlotte, Hastings, Ionia and

170. *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 212. Apparently several entries of land had been made there since 1829, though not by settlers. *History of Ingham and Eaton Counties*, 350. By one Vermont settler of 1836 near this site the lands of this township are said to have been preferred to a chance in Chicago. He is quoted as saying that he "did not want any land in a mud hole." It is said that the land which he then could have bought in Chicago for \$500 has since become the site of the city hall. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXI, 182. See the diagram and original plat of the village with the names of the settlers in *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXVIII, 211. It contained thirty-six lots of ten acres each, arranged in the typical New England "square." The farm lots were grouped about it. It is said that a fund of \$6,000 was made up by the original subscribers.

Battle Creek as the nearest markets and depots of supply.¹⁷¹

On the site of Eaton Rapids there are said to have been three houses in 1837, and a sawmill in process of building.¹⁷² As the name suggests, the place was chosen for a mill site at the rapids on the Grand River, and its first settlers were interested in the neighboring timber. The movement to this part of the county was apparently independent of that which entered at Bellevue, and the two streams of immigration did not meet for a considerable time.¹⁷³

While in 1835 a few acres of land were bought in what became Eaton Rapids Township, it was not until the next year that extensive buying took place there as elsewhere in the county.¹⁷⁴ In that year the "Montgomery Plains," near Eaton Rapids, were settled by four brothers of that name, one of whom later became a member of the State legislature.¹⁷⁵

Above Eaton Rapids, on the Grand River in Delta Township a little west of Lansing, a power site became the nucleus of settlement in the northeastern part of the county. An unsuccessful attempt to found a col-

171. There appear to have been fifty-one resident tax-payers in the township in 1844. The colony was of enough consequence to be noticed by Blois in 1838 in his *Gazetteer*, 377.

172. *History of Ingham and Eaton Counties*, 466. The sawmill was being built by a firm that built the mill at Spicerville in 1836. This firm founded the village. Eaton Rapids had apparently not gained sufficient importance by 1838 to be mentioned by Blois.

173. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 385.

174. *Ibid.*, III, 430.

175. *Ibid.*, XXIX, 368, 370; *Michigan Biographies*, 468; *History of Ingham and Eaton Counties*, 461, 475, 477.

lege there on the model of Oberlin, by parties from Ohio and Massachusetts, failed as a result of the hard times that followed 1837.¹⁷⁶ By 1837 considerable groups of settlers had located at "Moetown" in Brookfield Township and at the "Canada Settlement" in Oneida Township.¹⁷⁷

The most rapid increase of population would naturally have been in the vicinity of the original settlements, but the influence of speculators in holding out of market large areas which they early purchased in these desirable localities made early settlement on the whole quite as slow there as in less favored places. This speculation was done mainly by parties who never became residents and towards whom the actual settlers had much bitterness of feeling.¹⁷⁸

In 1835 there are said to have been but four voters in the one township which comprised all of Eaton County. In 1837 the county had three townships, with a combined population of 1,913. Almost half of the people were then in the neighborhood of Bellevue.¹⁷⁹ The sources of this population are various, but it was

176. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 159; XXIX, 363, 365; *History of Ingham and Eaton Counties*, 451.

177. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 386; XXII, 502; XXIX, 356, 376; *History of Ingham and Eaton Counties*, 430.

178. A good illustration of this was in the vicinity of "Moetown," in connection with which a writer in *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXIX, 356, has given an account of the attitude of the settlers towards these speculators, most of whom were nonresident. See also *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXIX, 353, 355, 358, 360, 373, 380; *History of Ingham and Eaton Counties*, 417-419, 486.

179. *Session Laws* (1837), 37, 40; *Michigan Legislative Manual* (1838), 71.

mainly from New York.¹⁸⁰ Vermont was largely represented in Vermontville and in a few others of the present townships.¹⁸¹ Massachusetts contributed a small proportion. Some were from Ohio.¹⁸² There were very few settlers of foreign origin, the Canada settlement representing the most numerous group¹⁸³ aside from a small number who came originally from Ireland.¹⁸⁴

Barry County¹⁸⁵ had at the time the State was admitted to the Union, a less degree of settlement than any other county in Michigan.¹⁸⁶ It had about one-half the population of Eaton County eastward of it, or of Ionia County above it. To the west, Allegan county numbered three times its population, and northward in Kent County there were over four times as

180. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXIX, 358, 365, 373, 375, 376, 380, 381, 384; *History of Ingham and Eaton Counties*, 384, 451, 486, 494, 509, 528.

181. Windsor Township was settled largely from Windsor County, Vermont. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXIX, 387; *History of Ingham and Eaton Counties*, 538.

182. The original Spicerville colony of ten persons were mainly from Portage County, Ohio. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 159; III, 386; XXII, 502, 505; XXIX, 363, 367, 372.

183. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXIX, 376.

184. *Ibid.*, XXIX, 370, 378; *History of Ingham and Eaton Counties*, 475, 477. For the names of the first settlers of the county see *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, III, 395-401.

185. The name is derived from William T. Barry who was Postmaster General in Jackson's cabinet at the time that the county was laid out in 1829. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 111-112.

186. It was only slightly exceeded by the population of Ingham or Clinton County.

many people. Immediately on the south were Calhoun and Kalamazoo counties, the lesser of which had a population twelve times greater than that of Barry.¹⁸⁷ It was not until two years after Michigan became a State that the county government was organized,¹⁸⁸ though its township government began with 1836.¹⁸⁹ The population of the county in 1837 was 512.¹⁹⁰

This population was apparently not well distributed, though all of the areas represented in the present townships excepting three seem to have received their first settlers by 1837.¹⁹¹ It is significant that in the next year, before the organization of the county, the legislature divided the township of Barry into four equal townships—Barry, Thornapple, Hastings, and Johnstown.¹⁹² But this cannot be taken to mean equal distribution of population. The largest center of population would seem by analogy with similar cases to be

187. *Michigan Legislative Manual* (1838), 75-76.

188. Prior to that time it had been attached for judicial purposes to St. Joseph and Kalamazoo counties—to the latter since 1830. The county was organized March 15, 1839. *Session Laws* (1835-36), 78.

189. March 23, 1836, an act was approved organizing the township of Barry, embracing the entire county. *Session Laws* (1835-36), 78.

190. *Michigan Legislative Manual* (1838), 70.

191. These seem to be Barry, Hope and Baltimore. The two latter especially seem to have been originally handicapped with hills, lakes, swamps and heavy hardwood timber, and to have been somewhat aside from the beaten track of travel through Yankee Springs and Middleville, as well as away from the river. *History of Barry County*, 392, 435.

192. *Session Laws* (1837-38), 81-82.

indicated by the retention of the old name of Barry for the southwestern township.¹⁹³ The northeastern township of Hastings probably had a small population, and the center of it appears to have been Hastings, as the first township meeting was directed to be held at the house of Slocum H. Bunker, who then lived there.¹⁹⁴ But in 1837, if reports are trustworthy, there were on the immediate site of the future county seat only Mr. Bunker's family and the men building the sawmill.¹⁹⁵ Blois reports in the year following that "it contains a few families, and is improving."¹⁹⁶ The township of Thornapple contained two of the earliest settled points in the county, in its southern part the site of Yankee Springs, and at the north on the river below Hastings, the site of Middleville.¹⁹⁷

193. The stage of development is indicated by the legislative direction for the township of Barry in 1836, that the first township meeting should be held at a private house, that of Nicholas Campbell; after the subdivision the meeting was directed to be held at the house of John Mills. *Session Laws* (1835-36), 78, and (1839), 82.

194. *Session Laws* (1839), 81.

195. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 112; XXXVIII, 646. The second settler, Willard Hays, from Mass., a brother of a member of the Hastings Company, is said to have arrived in 1837. *History of Barry County*, 367.

196. Intending settlers who consulted Blois' *Gazetteer*, in 1838, might have read in addition: "Hastings, a village on the Thornapple River, near the center of the county of Barry, is said to be beautifully situated, possessing excellent hydraulic power, which is improved to some extent"; p. 299. See Clark's *Gazetteer* (1863), 83, for a list of settlers in the county in 1836.

197. The name of this place, which seems to have been a favorite spot with the Indians, is said to have been derived from its position half way between Kalamazoo and Grand

The line of the Indian trail through these points and the western tier of townships from Kalamazoo and Battle Creek to Ionia and Grand Rapids, probably formed the axis of settlement in the county at that date. A writer who seems to be familiar with the pioneer records of the county reports that many New York settlers came in 1837 to the southeastern part of the county into what became Johnstown Township.¹⁹⁸

The settlement of the county seems to have begun practically with the great wave of speculation in the lands of Michigan that came in full force in 1836. In that year there was made one of the most widely known of the early settlements of Michigan in the openings near cool springs of water at a junction of Indian trails in the western part of the county.¹⁹⁹ William Lewis, better known as "Yankee Lewis," a native of Weathersfield in western New York, chose the site for an inn, which proved to give some promise

197. *Con. Rapids. Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 654. Land appears to have been purchased on this site by a New York settler as early as 1834, who is said to have brought his family there in the following year. *History of Barry County*, 486. It appears to be a slightly older settlement than either Yankee Springs or Hastings.

198. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXVI, 221. William P. Bristol is reported to have been the most prominent of these. It was at his house that the first township meeting in Johnstown Township (1839) was directed to be held. *Session Laws (1839)*, 82.

199. This place for some reason became known as "Yankee Springs." One story relates that the name was carved on the bark of a tree by some passers-by who happened to eat their lunch there, all from New England—"all Yankees," as one remarked. *History of Barry County*, 33.

early to this part of the county⁵ through the charm of Lewis' hospitality as a landlord.²⁰⁰ It is significant that Lewis had been in Indiana and Illinois in 1835 and that so shrewd a "Yankee" could see in Chicago nothing but a "dirty French and Indian trading post," as he is quoted to have characterized it. The site of his famous hostelry never became even a considerable village.

In the year 1836 beginnings were made at Hastings²⁰¹ by a company organized for the purpose of exploiting the water power and neighboring timber lands through the fostering of a county-seat village. The county seat appears to have been already located there but the site was yet without settlers in 1836.²⁰² It is said that the price of \$3,000 was paid for the plat covering the village site, which became known as the "Barry

200. His popularity and ability was long an influence in this section, making him a representative of Barry County in the legislature of 1846. *Michigan Biographies*, 415. It is not improbable that he drew to the county many settlers from the region of his native place. The "Mansion House" which was ultimately a collection of six log cabins, all on the ground, appears to be well known to old pioneers of the county as "Lewis' six story building." The extent of these accommodations illustrates the amount of travel on this route. *History of Barry County*, 515.

201. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXVI, 303.

202. The name is derived from Eurotas P. Hastings, said to have been a native of Washington, Litchfield County, Connecticut. He was then a resident of Detroit, and was connected with the Bank of Michigan as president in the period of "wild-cat banking." *History of Barry County*, 367; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 645, note 3. *Michigan Biographies* gives New York as the place of his birth (p. 330).

County Seat Purchase.”²⁰³ The three purchasers appear to have organized subsequently as the “Hastings Company” to found the village, and it seems probable that Eurotas P. Hastings, as president of the Bank of Michigan, had something to do with financing the project. The first improvement was a sawmill, erected by this company on a small branch of the Thornapple River at that place. The first frame house is said to have been built in 1838 from lumber sawed there. Apparently there was early a close connection between Hastings, Marshall, Battle Creek and Kalamazoo, largely through the members of this company. The purchasers of the site of Hastings are said to have been residents of Marshall;²⁰⁴ which accords with the enterprize of Marshall men we have seen in the starting of the mill and village at Bellevue in Eaton County. The first settlers of Hastings seem to have gotten their mail by way of Gull Prairie in Kalamazoo County.²⁰⁵ Marshall and Battle Creek were for some time the nearest considerable points of supply.

The same impulse to land and town-site speculation that started the settlement of Barry County made the first important impression upon the forested lands of Ingham. The settlement of that county, however, was destined to be very slow for a decade after receiving its first settlers. Before 1835 there were a few settlers on the extreme edges of what later became the town-

203. *History of Barry County*, 367; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 645.

204. *History of Barry County*, 367.

205. *Ibid.*, 373. Blois mentions a postoffice at Hastings.

ships of Stockbridge, Onondaga and Williamstown.²⁰⁶ Yet it is recorded that in 1845, on the occasion of a Fourth of July celebration on the site of Lansing, the available white men were so few that they had to enlist the aid of the Indians to raise the liberty pole.²⁰⁷

The first activity on the site of what was to become the future capital of the State was the platting of a "city" which afterwards was sold for taxes. As suggested, this was a speculative venture, and it was similar to that which was made at Hastings in that its purpose was to improve the water power and through the mill and the founding of a city, to exploit the neighboring timber and land.²⁰⁸ It was one of many similar experiments in city building in this period, but the natural advantages which the site possessed raised it above the class to which Port Sheldon belonged. Its connection with the site of the later Lansing, together with its signal failure, has caused it to be frequently cited as an example of the "paper city." One signal advantage it lacked which the project of the Hastings Company had, a close touch with open country and with older settlements and traveled highways; this is illustrated by a comment of Silas Beebe, a settler of Stockbridge Township in 1838 who is quoted as saying of the upper part of the county that "things looked too new and the project too

206. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XVIII, 448; *History of Ingham and Eaton Counties*, 292, 297, 334.

207. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXVI, 642.

208. *Detroit Daily Free Press*, May 11, 1836; Cowles, *The Past and Present of Lansing and Ingham County*, 54, 113; *History of Ingham and Eaton Counties*, 122.

far off to suit my view.”²⁰⁹ The desire to be near a traveled highway appears in the report that he settled in Stockbridge in the belief that the Michigan Central Railroad would pass there. It was not until 1837 that “Biddle City”²¹⁰ received its first settler, and few came thereafter.²¹¹

The only prospective village site in Ingham County in this period was that of Mason near the center of the county.²¹² This was another mill-site and town-site speculation, and was operated by a firm at Monroe.²¹³ The mill rather than the village, however, seems there to have been of first concern. In 1836 an agent of the company began building the mill and clearing the land; the following year a member of the company became a permanent settler on the site.²¹⁴ From lumber cut at this first sawmill in the county a frame

209. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 190, 192.

210. The place is said to have been named for Major John Biddle of Detroit. It was laid out with forty-eight blocks and seventeen fractional ones. There was a “public square,” a “Church square,” an “academy square,” and the principal streets bore high-sounding names. Quite a number of lots appear to have been sold. There is said to be a plat of the city in Liber 6, Deed Records, in the Register of Deeds’ office at Mason. *History of Ingham and Eaton Counties*, 122.

211. This settler is said to have been a German tailor who met some of the proprietors of “Biddle City” at Jackson. *History of Ingham and Eaton Counties*, 192.

212. Named for Stevens T. Mason, the first governor of Michigan.

213. *History of Ingham and Eaton Counties*, 203, 205.

214. *Ibid.*, 203. This member of the firm was Ephraim B. Danforth, originally from Orange County, New York, who afterwards became a State senator and a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of 1850. *Michigan Biographies*, 216. He named the village.



GOVERNOR STEVENS T. MASON

(*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXV, p. 240)

From the oil painting in the State Capitol, supposed to have been done by an English artist, Alvin Smith, about 1836.—Mason became Acting-Governor of the Territory on the resignation of Lewis Cass in 1831. Being then only twenty years old he became known as the "Boy Governor" but he proved to be a man in thought and action. He was elected first governor of the State and was the dominant figure of the transitional period.

schoolhouse was built in 1837, where school is said to have been held in the summer of that year with eight pupils.²¹⁵ The village was not platted until 1838.²¹⁶ In February of that year "a sawmill (frozen up), a few houses and surrounding forest is all it could boast of."²¹⁷ Blois credits it with "a store, tavern, saw mill, and several buildings."²¹⁸

Ingham County had in 1837 three organized townships²¹⁹ and a population of 822 people.²²⁰ If the size of a township were not often deceptive it would appear that the greater number of settlers were in the extreme southeastern corner, in the township of Stockbridge, which was at that early date but six miles square.²²¹ The whole western half of the county containing the sites of Lansing and Mason made the one large township of Aurelius.

New York appears to have been the source of more of the first settlers of this county than was the case with many other counties in Michigan. One of the influential proprietors of "Biddle City" is said to have been a cousin of ex-Governor Horatio Seymour, of Utica, and at the time of the purchase, president of a

215. *History of Ingham and Eaton Counties*, 211.

216. *Ibid.*, 205.

217. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 190.

218. Blois, *Gazetteer*, 222; Cowles' *Lansing and Ingham County*, p. 34, mentions Vandercook's *Past and Present Life of Mason*.

219. *Session Laws* (1835-1836), 79, and (1837), 35, 41.

220. *Mich. Legislative Manual* (1838), 71.

221. The area of Stockbridge was that of a surveyed township from its organization in 1836, when it could have had but a small population. It was obviously not necessary to make it larger, since only the untenanted forest extended about it. *Session Laws* (1835-36), 79.

bank at Rochester.²²² The representative of the Monroe Company who became the first promoter of Mason seems to have come from Orange County, New York.²²³ The township of Lansing is believed to have been named for the Lansing in what was then Tompson County, New York.²²⁴

Clinton County, which lay at the north on the outskirts of the Grand and Saginaw Valleys had about half as many settlers in 1837 as either of the counties immediately west of it.²²⁵ Either of the counties south of it had a population considerably more than one-half larger. This population was distributed in two equal townships whose longer axes extended north and south,²²⁷ but the lines of natural association of settlements apparently did not extend in that direction; they extended east and west—at the south, along the Lookingglass River and at the north, on the Maple River. In the interior between these two lines there does not seem to have been many settlers until very much later than 1837.²²⁸ There had been a goodly amount

222. *History of Ingham and Eaton Counties*, 122.

223. *Michigan Biographies*, 216.

224. Cowles, *Lansing and Ingham County*, 113, 115. For a list of the first settlers of the townships of the county see *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VI, 283; XII, 393; XVII, 633; XXVI, 643-644.

225.	Shiawassee, population	1,184	} Michigan Legislative Manual (1838), 75-76.
	Ionia,	" 1,028	
	Eaton,	" 913	
	Ingham,	" 822	
	Clinton,	" 529	

227. *Session Laws* (1837), 140. The townships were Dewitt and Watertown.

228. It is significant that the next subdivision took place in the western half of the county, and in a way to separate the northern from the southern settlements. *Session Laws* (1837-38), 83.

of land purchased, as is shown by the Tract Book; but the bulk of these purchases appear to have been for speculation. The county appears to have been generally less settled than many other counties where the same quantity of public land was sold. Blois ²²⁹ mentions no villages in the county. There appear, however, to have been a number of nuclei of settlement forming in 1837 which were to develop village life, and there were a number of "paper towns" at promising power sites on the Lookingglass and Maple rivers, principally at Dewitt in the south and in what was to become Duplain Township in the northeast.

Speculative enterprizes in the county began on a large scale in 1836. Land was first bought in the south along both sides of the Lookingglass River. A specially favored spot on this river was at its junction with Prairie River, crossed by an Indian trail leading from Pontiac to the lower Grand River, which it was thought might develop into a highway of trade and travel. The landscape is said to have possessed great beauty and the soil and timber to have been excellent. Water power in abundance was at hand to develop these resources. In 1836 a cluster of villages began there, platted mainly by New York parties—as the names would suggest (Dewitt, Middletown, New Albany)—and the usual means were adopted to attract settlers; among others the streets were named from principal eastern cities. Notwithstanding the promising outlook the financial crisis presently reduced these embryo villages all to the same plane; a few years later

229. *Gazetteer*, 218.

the sites were sold by the State for unpaid taxes.²³⁰ A little further down the river, at Wacousta, an experiment of a similar character but less extensive was tried by a joint stock company in 1837. A sawmill and gristmill were built, and a store was opened.²³¹ Though these village projects were failures, the permanent improvements made in mills and buildings, as well as the attraction of settlers by the seeming presence of capital and enterprize, were of great value, giving these lands a start toward agricultural settlement.

Speculation was not confined to these favored places, but spread widely over the country. In Bengal Township, a type of the heavily wooded township of the interior—of which its first settler is quoted as saying that from 1837 to 1850 it was considered the most worthless township in the county—a goodly number of acres are said to have been bought in 1836-37 on almost every section.²³² In many cases where the land was long held out of market awaiting the rise in prices which better times and the settlement of the county would naturally bring, these nonresident investments were a drag on the real interests of settlement. Very early the actual settlers sought the less desirable lands that were still left, rather than pay the high prices

230. *History of Shiawassee and Clinton Counties*, 405.

231. *Ibid.*, 526. Illustrating the humorous side of land speculation at this period, the volume referred to (p. 424) gives an interesting account of a race between a speculator and an agent of the Duplain colony to enter land at Kalamazoo.

232. *History of Shiawassee and Clinton Counties*, 393-395.

demanding by speculators; such was the case, for example, with the first German colonists of Westphalia Township. Yet the Tract Books show that comparatively few of the actual settlers of the county bought their lands originally from the Government.

Another factor which deceived and discouraged many intending settlers, at least in some parts of the county, was the unfriendly attitude of the hunters and trappers, who looked upon agricultural settlement as hostile to their own interests. Among other means to discourage settlers they are said to have posted on trees numerous notices that no trespassing would be allowed in the premises, signing fictitious names for the proprietor. The natural conclusion would be that the land had all been purchased there, and on inquiring in the neighborhood the impression would be confirmed. Of one settler thus deceived it is related that he went to the land office, caused a diagram to be made out showing the actual condition of ownership of certain lands, and sold copies of it to inquiring settlers. He bought land, built a cabin and prepared to stay; but threatening notices and continued petty annoyances compelled him to sell out and leave. Such a neighborhood gained a reputation that led settlers to avoid it.²³³

There appear to have been a few actual settlers in the county as early as 1833-34 who made slight beginnings before 1835 on the Lookingglass River in the

233. *History of Shiawassee and Clinton Counties*, 386. This is told of the township of Bath. It cannot be said upon the evidence to have been a universal practice.

present Dewitt and Eagle townships. These first settlers are said to have come originally from Litchfield, Connecticut and Shoreham, Vermont, but intermediately from Washington and Genesee counties in New York, and from Oakland and Washtenaw counties, Michigan.²³⁴ One of these settlements was made at the site opposite Dewitt, which is mentioned above as having been a chief point of speculative enterprize in 1836-37. At this point in 1833 settled Captain David Scott, from Ann Arbor, after whom the place was long known as "Scott's." It became a helpful center of information and inn accommodation for settlers passing on the "Northern Route" to the Grand River country.²³⁵ Its settlement was slow, but it was somewhat accelerated by the mills which were established by speculative enterprize on the river in 1837-38. The location of the county seat there in 1835 and the establishment of the township of Dewitt in that year shows it to have been considered a prospective center of early population in the county.²³⁶ It appears to have been situated on the route from both Pontiac and Howell to Grand Rapids, from the latter of which

234. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, II, 483; V, 325, 328; XVII, 410. *History of Shiawassee and Clinton Counties*, 338, 437. Lebanon Township at the extreme northeast is said to have received one settler from Washtenaw County in 1834, but not to have received its second settler until 1837. *History of Shiawassee and Clinton Counties*, 338, 471.

235. *History of Shiawassee and Clinton Counties*, 338, 406.

236. *Ibid.*, 342; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XVII, 413; *Session Laws* (1835-36), 78. County buildings seem not to have been occupied until 1843. The shifting of the center of population with the increasing settlement of the county caused the removal of the county seat to St. Johns in 1857.

places there is said to have been a weekly mail in 1837.²³⁷

In that year of enterprise, 1836, a notable settlement took place in the northeastern corner of Clinton County somewhat similar to that made three years before at Ionia. It was somewhat larger, some twenty-five families, and it differed from the Ionia colony in having a formal organization. It was known in its Articles of Association as "The Rochester Colony," and in the particulars of association it had much in common with the colony at Vermontville. According to the account in the *History of Shiawassee and Clinton Counties*, the right to a controlling interest in the company attached to one share of \$125, \$5 of which was to be paid down and the balance on demand, each member to receive eighty acres of farm land and one or more lots in the contemplated village. The lands were to be secured at Rochester by lot, but to insure their actual improvement no deed in fee simple was to be given until the subscriber had actually settled or insured his settlement on his land with his family, or in lieu of settlement had improved it to one-fourth of the cost. The remainder of the company's lands were to be sold at auction, and the proceeds were to be equitably divided. Eighteen months were to be allowed after the drawing either to settle or improve; failure to do one or the other forfeited the land to the company, to be sold at auction with certain provisions

237. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, V, 329. Blois does not mention a settlement there. For the first settlers of the neighboring river townships of Eagle and Watertown, see *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, V, 328; XIV, 622; XVII, 412.

in favor of the subscriber. Agents were chosen to locate the land and administer the company's financial affairs, but the agents were not to purchase any lands bordering on those of the company until after the company's purchase had been completed and the agents had returned to Rochester.²³⁸

Influences at Detroit led these agents to this region, where they are reported to have found all of the important points taken "excepting one which lies on the Maple River." In the present Duplain Township they seem to have spent four days investigating and weighing the relative advantages of the various places they had visited,²³⁹ and their report shows that water power, good soil, timber, and the prospect of a canal near by weighed most in favor of that site. The density of the forest was mentioned as somewhat of a drawback. The agents laid much stress on the proposed State project of a canal to connect the Maple and Shiawassee rivers, "which, if that takes place," they are quoted as saying, "will cause a great drift of business through this section of the country, as it will save something like one thousand miles of water carriage around the Lakes."²⁴⁰ The settlement was made in 1836, but is not mentioned by Blois.

Another prominent power site early covered by pur-

238. *History of Shiawassee and Clinton Counties*, 423; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, V, 329.

239. They had been directed to go first to the neighborhood of the Wabash and Erie Canal and the lower Maumee River in Ohio, thence to Fort Wayne and the northern counties of Indiana, thence to Michigan along the Grand River. They are said to have spent a month before their return to Rochester.

240. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, V, 331.

chase from the Government was that at the present Maple Rapids. As early as 1832 this site was bought by George Campau who is said to have established a trading post there in the same year that his brother Louis established the one at Grand Rapids (1826).²⁴¹ By 1837 the lands in this vicinity had been mainly taken up by speculators.²⁴²

In 1836 a colony of German Catholics began to gather in the township of Westphalia.²⁴³ This appears to have resulted from their failure to find suitable lands on the lower Grand River whither they are said to have been directed by a Catholic priest whom they consulted on their arrival at Detroit; only land at speculators' prices seems to have been available there and they turned northward to lands of which they had heard while at Lyons. The sterling character of these immigrants is evidenced by the early transformation wrought in this township, which is said to have contained originally much swamp and to have been considered by speculators as not worth attention.²⁴⁴

241. *History of Shiawassee and Clinton Counties*, 338, 446.

242. *Ibid.*, 444-446.

243. *Ibid.*, 533, 535. This volume reports the township as populated (1880) almost exclusively by German Catholics. The original colony is said to have purchased almost a section of contiguous land.

244. The township was organized with the area of a surveyed township in 1839. *Session Laws* (1839), 21.

CHAPTER IX

SOURCES AND CHARACTER OF POPULATION

IT is almost a truism that the habits and ideals of a new country are determined largely by the environment from which the people come. Their inheritance—social, economic, political, religious—is transplanted with them and forms the matrix from which their life in the new environment is to grow, and in turn the new environment, as the medium through which their life seeks to express itself, tends to modify the inheritance. The study of settlement finds a large part of its value in the aid it can give to explain how the life of a people has come to be what it is, and hence the question of the sources of population and of their relative contributions to different areas is one of its important problems.

In this respect a typical Michigan county is Washtenaw.¹ The chief areas from which settlers came

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1. There are two reasons for basing this chapter upon a study of the population of Washtenaw County; first, the settlement areas treated in the preceding chapters are too large to admit within the scope of this study either of the necessary detail or of some degree of control of the materials. Data for other Michigan counties have been given to some extent in connection with chapters dealing with the several settlement areas, and the results substantially agree with those here obtained. Again, Washtenaw is a typical county in a typical group of counties. In surface, soil, drainage, timber, water-power, ease of communication and proximity to adequate

immediately to this county is suggested by the relative number of original land purchasers who registered from different places. Five hundred and eighteen patents give places of registration in the following proportions:

New England.....	25
New York.....	228
Other Middle Atlantic states.....	5
Southern states.....	0
Western states.....	3
Foreign.....	4
Washtenaw County, Michigan.....	212
Other Michigan counties.....	41
<hr/>	
Total.....	518

1. *Con.* markets and supply depots it closely resembles Oakland and Lenawee counties, and this area appears to be fairly representative in population, if we except the southwestern counties where there was a much larger proportion of settlers from states outside of New York and New England. The chief limitation upon results is imposed by the extent, accessibility and nature of the materials. It hardly needs saying that satisfying results can be obtained only as they are obtained by the census bureau, by counting individuals, and one may well ask what is to be understood by a source of population for the individual. It was exceptional for a settler to emigrate directly from his place of birth to Michigan. He was much more likely to have a number of intermediate stopping places; for example, he might be born in England, migrate with his parents to Connecticut, be educated in Vermont, engage in business in New York, and then spend some years on the frontier in Ohio and perhaps return to New York for some years before settling finally in Michigan. It is pertinent to ask, Where did he "come from" and to which environment was he most indebted for his qualities and ideals? The relative efficiency of

By far the largest number of New York purchasers registered from Genesee, Monroe, Ontario and Seneca counties; Cayuga, Livingston, Steuben and Wayne counties made up the next largest number; these eight counties, which made a fairly compact area, were in the northern and central parts of western New York.

1. *Con.* different environments in these respects is doubtful, and it might vary with individuals. The relative lengths and dates of sojourn would introduce variations that could hardly be calculated. The influence of birthplace in the case above given would probably be slight, but if the birthplace were Connecticut, and especially if there were a background of eminent colonial antecedents and family traditions, its influence would tend to be considerable. It would matter much if the sojourn were made, say, at Albany between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five in the period of the canal projects. Undoubtedly the web of influences would be very difficult for even the person concerned to disentangle.

The factors chosen here are birthplace and the place of residence at the time of making the first purchase of land in the county. This selection is as likely to prove rational as another, and it is practicable. Some compensation is sought by individualizing representative citizenship. The material is definite and easily accessible, consisting of land patents and biographical sketches. The originals of the United States land patents issued to the first purchasers of land in the county are on file at Washington. There are duplicates of about one-half of them in the Register of Deeds' office in Ann Arbor, and these are used here. Of those consulted, there were five hundred and eighteen that were useful for the present purpose, which were issued between 1824 and 1839. Of these buyers two hundred and fifty-three registered from Michigan, reducing the number on which to calculate outside sources to two hundred and sixty-five. This number however ought to be fairly representative of the early period. Undoubtedly some of these purchasers were not actual settlers. Yet the size of single purchases does not in general indicate the professional speculator. Comparatively few of the names recur fre-

Four-fifths of these patents (183) name counties lying west of the meridian of Stony Point, which passes through the eastern end of Lake Ontario; and of these, seven-tenths (129) name these eight counties. Less than two-fifths of the whole number (89) mention counties bordering on Lake Erie and Pennsylvania, and purchasers were fewest in the latter. In both western and eastern New York they were most numerous in the area which was influenced directly by the Erie Canal.²

1. *Con.* quently in other United States patents of the period, and of such as do recur often the second registration is usually from Washtenaw County, very probably indicating settlement there. Early local deeds of sale bearing these names are almost uniformly from persons giving Washtenaw County as their place of residence. The material used for determining birthplaces is taken almost entirely from the biographical sketches in the back of the *History of Washtenaw County*. If compromises are sometimes permissible when the ideal is unattainable, clearly one must be made here. It would be quite inexpedient to try to check up this material except by sketches of a similar nature, as for example those in the volumes of the *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, and it is not always certain that these are independent sources. A fair number of test cases have given results entirely favorable to sketches in the *History of Washtenaw County*.

2. Counties in western New York contributing:

48-50—a Cayuga.....	12	59-68—a Onondaga....	7
35-48 Chautauqua..	3	40-43—b Ontario.....	19
36-62—b Erie.....	7	21-25—b Seneca.....	22
52-60—b Genesee.....	24	34-46 Steuben.....	11
28-35—b Livingston....	13	28-21 Tioga.....	2
50-65—a Monroe.....	20	37-38 Tompkins....	3
18-31—a Niagara.....	7	34-42—a Wayne.....	18
19-44—a Orleans.....	6	19-20—b Yates.....	8

Counties in eastern New York contributing:

37-41 Chenango....	1	27-44 Oswego.....	1
40-43—c Columbia....	2	51-50—b Otsego.....	3

A glance at this data reveals a relation between the number of purchases made from a county and the rate and amount of the county's growth. On the whole it was from the counties of slow growth that the purchases were most numerous, like Seneca. Though its population was small, growing in ten years from 21,000 to 25,000, it gave next to the highest number of purchasers. The largest number was given by Genesee County, which belonged to the group of slow growth but of large or medium population; notable examples of this group are Ontario and Wayne. An

2. Con. 51-52—c	Dutchess.....	4	13-12—c	Putnam.....	2
30-30—c	Greene.....	2	49-60—bc	Rensselaer....	3
36-37—a	Herkimer.....	1	39-41—bc	Saratoga.....	4
49-61—	Jefferson.....	1	12-16	Sullivan.....	1
39-40—a	Madison.....	5	37-46—c	Ulster.....	1
71-85—a	Oneida.....	6	36-49—c	Westchester... 1	
45-51—c	Orange.....	3	31	—c New York City	4

a—Counties crossed by the Erie Canal.

b—Counties within the Canal's immediate sphere of influence.

c—Hudson River counties.

The population for 1830 and 1840 appears at the left of the counties; the unit is 1000. The number of purchases appears at the right. Comparisons must take account of relative density; relative numerical strength may deceive, owing to the varying size of the counties. Of course the counties as they then existed are not the present counties, and allowance must also be made for changes in county boundaries between 1830 and 1840. See plates 5, 6, 7, 8 of the *United States Statistical Atlas*, 1900. Plate 8 shows a considerable area on the Pennsylvania border that was still sparsely populated in 1850. For population in 1830 and 1840 see *United States Census* (1830), 36-47, 50-53 and *Ibid.*, (1840), 110, 123. Specific references to the patents in the *Libers* are for reasons of expediency omitted.

apparent exception was Monroe County, just west of Wayne; it had a large population but its growth was comparatively rapid; it ranked third. The small number of purchases from counties of small population and rapid growth is seen in Orleans and Niagara counties directly west of Wayne and Monroe, which had quite as good soil and location; the same may be said in large measure of Erie and Chautauqua. In these four counties, still in the pioneer stage, land was plentiful and there was no need of purchasing elsewhere.

Almost all of the New York purchasers registered from Canal or Hudson River counties. There occurs one striking gap in the former group, in the area covered by southern Herkimer, Fulton, Montgomery, Schenectady and Albany counties; all of these appear in the United States census of 1830 and of 1840 with a fair population.³

Outside of New York⁴ the greatest number of patents

3. Excepting Fulton County, in 1830, Plates 6 and 7, *United States Statistical Atlas*, 1900, show the density of population to have been comparatively small in the area east of Utica, which agrees with this in part.

4. (Liber and page)

Maine.....	31.787.
New Hampshire....	D.413-38.593.
Vermont.....	D.386-E.292-I.275-31.800.
Massachusetts.....	D.263-E.174-F.118-L.376-M.265-M. 337-N.23-X.90-X.293-39.113.
Rhode Island.....	K.18-Q.428-32.783.
Connecticut.....	B.375-M.356-U.25-U.572-28.561.
Pennsylvania.....	H.391-M.350-N.334.
Virginia.....	F.351.
New Jersey.....	W.159.
Ohio.....	P.300-S.139-U.282.
Upper Canada.....	E.170-M.376.
England.....	L.479.
Scotland.....	39.440.

registered from any one State was ten from Massachusetts. This was two-thirds of all that were registered from New England, and these purchases were made mainly in the 20's, by persons from Berkshire, Worcester and Franklin counties, and from Boston.

Connecticut and Vermont rank next among the New England States. Four purchasers registered from Caledonia, Addison and Franklin counties, Vermont; and five from Connecticut, from the counties of Litchfield and New London, and from the city of New Haven. From Rhode Island one registered from Providence, one from Newport, and one from Washington County.

Pennsylvania and Ohio were next, furnishing each three registrations, comparatively late; the Pennsylvanians were from Bradford and Dauphin counties, the Ohioans from the counties of Huron and Sandusky.

From each of the remaining sources Maine, New Hampshire, Virginia, New Jersey, Upper Canada, England and Scotland there were registered but one or two purchasers.

Two hundred and twelve persons registered from Washtenaw County, Michigan. Outside this county the largest number of registrations was from Wayne County (24), over one-half of which were from De-

4. *Con.* The earliest Libers use the alphabet, and are continued numerically beginning with 27. The above are sample references (those for New England, etc.).

A thousand patents which might be obtained by following the later registrations would perhaps vary these proportions somewhat, by including the later purchases. As each patent gives also the location, date, and extent of the particular purchase, these items could be made to reveal the distribution of the purchases in different periods over the county.

troit. Lenawee County ranked next with nine. Oakland, Monroe, Livingston and Jackson counties furnished together eight purchasers.⁵

Turning now to the settlers: of 965 adult settlers who came to Washtenaw County between 1815 and 1850, less than a third (277) were of foreign birth; of these Ireland, England and Germany furnished the greater number, respectively 91, 85, and 82. Scotland sent 10, Canada 7 and Switzerland 2.

The native American settlers were born chiefly in New York and New England. Of these New York furnished alone more than one-half (374), which was more than a third of the whole number. From the other Middle Atlantic states came 89; 40 of them from Pennsylvania, 44 from New Jersey and 5 from Virginia. The absence of birthplaces in Delaware, Maryland and the western and southern states is notable.

New England furnished considerably less than a third of the total (224). Of these the least number came from Maine (2), while Rhode Island furnished 5 and New Hampshire 12. The near equality of representation from the three largest contributors is noteworthy—Massachusetts 70, Vermont 69, Connecticut 66.⁶

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5. Oakland, 3.
 Monroe, 3.
 Livingston, 1.
 Jackson, 1.
 Total outside Washtenaw County in State, 41.
 Total in State, 253.

6.	Maine.....	2	England.....	85
	New Hampshire.....	12	Ireland.....	91
	Vermont.....	69	Scotland.....	10
	Massachusetts.....	70	Germany.....	82

To summarize briefly: the Irish were the leading foreign element, with the English and the Germans close rivals. Scotch and Canadians were few. New York led in the native element, with New England close. The foreign, New York, New England and other elements contributed in about the proportions of 27, 37, 21 and 8. Of the New England sources, Maine, New Hampshire and Rhode Island contributed few; Massachusetts, Vermont and Connecticut contributed about equally and in considerable numbers. Pennsylvania and New Jersey showed less, and in about equal proportions. A few settlers were from Virginia.

Comparing the results obtained from the biographical sketches and the patents, large and general likenesses appear. In each group the New York element was very much larger than that from any other source, four times greater in the nativities and twenty-two times greater in the places of first land purchases. The New England, foreign, and Middle Atlantic contributions stood next, while in both groups the western and southern states were of but slight importance.

In each group, New England furnished a large percent of the population, largest from Massachusetts. Vermont and Connecticut ranked as contributors

6. <i>Con.</i> Rhode Island.....	5	Switzerland.....	2
Connecticut.....	66	New England.....	224
New York.....	374	New York.....	374
Pennsylvania.....	40	Foreign.....	277
New Jersey.....	44	Other Middle Atlantic	
Virginia.....	5	states.....	89
Ohio.....	0	Western states.....	0
		Canada.....	7
		Southern states.....	0

second and third; while Maine, New Hampshire and Rhode Island contributed the least number.

In the Middle Atlantic states there were represented the same contributors, in addition to New York; namely, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Virginia—the latter being subordinate in each group. Neither group included southern states; and it was the same with western states, excepting a few patents to Ohioans.

The most marked differences between the two groups appear in the foreign element. The differences in native population appear especially in the percentages, differences which in their larger aspects would not be materially affected if the birth figures for the foreign elements were omitted. The nativities show a very much higher percent of New Englanders than do the nativities. The former statement is true also for the other Middle Atlantic states. This is probably indicative for the masses of what is so frequently found true in particular families of old settlers in the county, that the immigration to the county from New York was largely by persons born in other states who in the earlier days had settled in New York.⁷

An interesting confirmation of the large New York and New England elements in Michigan's population is obtained by noting some of the county's prominent public men of the period—although quite the reverse

	Nativity	Patent
	percent.	percent.
New England.....	24	9
New York.....	38	86
Foreign.....	29	2
Other Middle Atlantic states...	9	2
Western states.....	0	1
Southern states.....	0	0

of the proportions is found. In these the percentage of New York nativities is greater than that for New England. Forty-eight percent of those members of the legislature⁸ whose nativities are given were born in New York, thirty-seven percent in New England, thirteen percent in the Middle Atlantic states outside of New York, and two percent in New England. The New England contributions were made mainly from Vermont, Massachusetts and Connecticut, and in nearly equal numbers. The same Middle Atlantic states outside of New York were represented; namely, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Virginia, the former leading. Maine and Rhode Island did not contribute. The only foreign element was one Englishman.

Examining the counties in which were born the members of the Michigan Legislature from 1835 to 1850: one-half of the members who were born in New York came from the western part of that State, Ontario and Cayuga counties alone furnishing seven of these, the former four, the latter three; Wayne and Niagara counties furnished each one. Excepting Niagara, not any of the extreme western and southwestern areas contributed. Of the southern and southeastern counties only Chenango, Broome and Orange counties were represented—each sent one. The remaining New

8. The volume of *Michigan Biographies* (1888), compiled under the auspices of the State of Michigan, gives sketches of forty-six members from Washtenaw County in the Territorial and State legislatures between 1835 and 1850. On checking these up from the legislative manuals, the volumes of the *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, *Representative Men*, the histories of the county and other sources, scarcely an error was found. The figures are based upon the material in *Michigan Biographies*.

York members came from central and eastern counties; one each from Lewis, Madison, Otsego and Schoharie counties, and three from east of the Hudson River; two of these were born in Columbia County, and the third in Renssalaer County.⁹

9. Members of Territorial and State legislatures from Washtenaw County from 1835-59. References are to *Michigan Biographies*, with page and the initials of members.

Counties in western New York contributing: nativities—

Cayuga (3)—N.S.583-B.W.W.662-E.L.F.279.
 Livingston . . . (1)—W.F.268.
 Niagara (1)—J.M.E.246.
 Ontario (4)—W.B.139-J.R.550-D.P.524-H.T.W.666.
 Wayne (1)—O.W.687.

Counties in eastern New York contributing—

Broome (1)—H.C.186.
 Chenango . . . (1)—T.W.712.
 Columbia . . . (2)—A.P.533-W.S.C.155.
 Lewis (1)—S.L.H.316.
 Madison (1)—J.G.L.413.
 Otsego (1)—R.E.M.478.
 Orange (1)—S.D.224.
 Renssalaer . . . (1)—S.D.233.
 Schoharie . . . (1)—J.L.423.

Two members, not known what counties N.R.R.541-J.W.H. 343.

Members of the State legislature 1850-84 who settled in Washtenaw County before 1850.

Counties in western New York contributing: nativities—

Alleghany . . . (1)—G.P.536.
 Cayuga (4)—C.J.383-J.D.W.698-W.B.65-C.S.G. 309.
 Erie (1)—D.P.522.
 Genesee (2)—O.C.176-G.P.S.572.
 Livingston . . . (2)—C.W.684-B.C.157.
 Onondaga . . . (3)—E.L.B.121-J.D.C.199-A.H.C.201.
 Ontario (8)—J.H.B.84-T.D.L.406-A.F.K.399-D.A. W.716-P.C.194-A.R.560-J.J.R.560-J.W.M.464.

From New England, the Connecticut members were natives of Sharon and Litchfield¹⁰ in Litchfield County, Norwich¹¹ in New London, Danbury¹² in Fairfield, Canterbury¹³ in Windham, and Sterling¹⁴ in Tolland County. Massachusetts members came from the comparatively limited area of two counties, Berkshire and Norfolk. Sandisfield,¹⁵ West Stockbridge,¹⁶ Cheshire¹⁷ and Great Barrington,¹⁸ were nativities in the former; Weymouth,¹⁹ in Norfolk. Members of Vermont birth came from St. Johnsbury²⁰ in Caledonia County, from Rupert²¹ in Bennington, from Rutland²² in Rutland,

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9. *Con.* Schuyler . . . (1)—J.S.T.641.
 Seneca (1)—C.Y.721.
 Steuben (1)—L.J.W.684.
 Wayne (2)—L.K.H.341-F.W.C.184.
 Wyoming . . . (1)—L.D.N.494.
 Yates (2)—L.C.213-N.W.676.

Counties in eastern New York contributing—
 Cortland . . . (1)—J.G.293.
 Fulton (1)—D.M.450.
 Oneida (1)—G.T.G.312.
 Otsego (1)—S.P.510.
 Rensselaer . . . (1)—E.B.W.669.
 Unknown C.S.586-I.R.555-O.H.342.

10. O.K.388.
 11. A.G.290.
 12. A.W.696.
 13. J.K.396.
 14. H.H.318.
 15. O.P.513.
 16. G.S.602.
 17. N.P.525.
 18. G.S.575.
 19. M.P.531.
 20. A.C.208.
 21. O.R.556.
 22. A.M.463.

and from Newfane²³ in Windham; the birthplace of one other member the writer has been unable to ascertain with certainty.²⁴ New Hampshire contributed from Petersboro²⁵ in Hillsborough County.

The first items in the *Detroit Gazette* that mention the sources of immigration to Michigan emphasize the "Genesee country" of western New York, especially the counties of Monroe and Ontario, and the most frequent comparison made of Michigan lands is with those along the Genesee River.²⁶ Says the *Gazette* of September 13, 1825, "The emigration is still principally from western (the richest) counties of New York. It appears that a knowledge of this country has not yet reached further east than the county of Onondaga." The same for January 16, 1827, estimates that nearly three-fourths of the immigration to Michigan is from New York and on March 6 expresses the belief that four-fifths of the new population desire to adopt the New York system of township government in preference to that of New England.²⁷

23. M.K.391.

24. W.A.B.135.

25. W.M.473.

26. *Detroit Gazette*, October 12, 1821; June 7 and August 2, 1822.

27. In an important contribution by W. V. Smith, entitled "The Puritan Blood of Michigan," *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 355-61, it is pointed out that the practice of the courts in Michigan, from Justice Court to Supreme Court, is taken almost entirely from New York; that the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Michigan was a New Yorker; that the "Big Four" (Justices of the Supreme Court), James V. Campbell, T. M. Cooley, I. P. Christiancy and B. E. Graves were all New Yorkers; that the Michigan real estate law was also adopted from New York.

A more conservative estimate, made for 1837 and including the New England element, places the New Englanders and New Yorkers at about two-thirds of the total population.²⁸ As early as 1822 the *Gazette* mentions Vermont, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Ohio (in this order) along with New York as chief sources.²⁹ Virginia also should be mentioned especially for the southwest, and men from that State were conspicuous leaders in shaping the earliest laws of Michigan.³⁰ If New York may be called the second New England, Michigan may justly claim to rank as the third. Owing to the great foreign immigrations to New England in later times, Michigan represents today more truly the blood and the ideals of the Puritans than does any one of the New England states.³¹ The foreign immigrants who came after 1848, finding Michigan already largely occupied, moved farther west to Wisconsin, Minnesota and Iowa. As a result of the early immigration from New York and New England, Michigan probably has a larger percent of original New England stock than has any other State in the Union.³²

The qualities, habits and ideals of Michigan settlers in this period were therefore essentially those of New York and New England. A new society

28. Channing and Lansing, *Story of the Great Lakes*, 267. See also Farmer, *Hist. Detroit*, I, 335.

29. *Detroit Gazette*, June 7, 1822.

30. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 344; XIV, 285, *Michigan Biographies*, 77, 715. Southwestern Michigan drew also largely from the Carolinas, Kentucky, Tennessee and Indiana.

31. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, XXXVIII, 360.

32. McLaughlin, *History of Higher Education in Michigan*, 12; see also O. C. Thompson's opinion in *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 400; and *United States Census*, 1870, under *Population*.

was to be formed in the wilderness by a group of hardy middle-class farmers, young, hopeful, ambitious, and imbued with the traditions of individualism in church, state and society, cut loose from conservative forces, and set down in the midst of almost boundless natural resources.³³ The settlers had those qualities which are most significant for ability to endure the severe and continued hardships of pioneer life. The great majority of them were young and had been schooled by the stress of hard times to suffer privations; they had a firm faith in the future grounded in a supreme self-confidence; they had that vivid imagination born of the presence of great resources that buoyed them up in many times of distress. Many of them had large families. The supreme desire to leave their families a competence is the burden of many a pioneer reminiscence and was a powerful stimulus, and the leaders among them had thoughts for remoter posterity.

The selective process of economic pressure in the East together with the Government's regulation of land sales, especially the repeal of the credit system, insured comparative economic equality. This meant comparative equality of opportunity, for in a society where every man could own a farm there was little chance for any marked separation into economic or social classes. This comparatively even chance and practical social equality tended to induce comparative

33. Lanman, *History of Michigan*, 295-300; *American Historical Review*, XI, 304-327; *Magazine of Western History*, IV, 389-393; *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXVIII, 291-293; LXLI, 87-90.

contentedness and satisfaction with life, even under the most trying ills—a bulwark of strength for a new commonwealth.

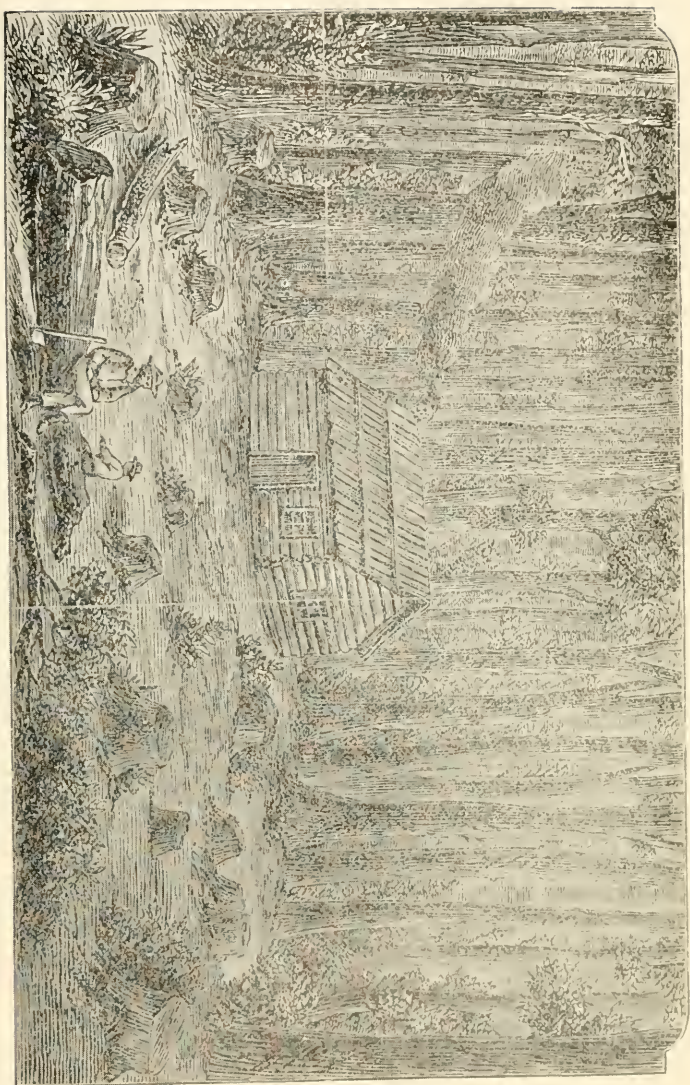
Along with self-confidence there was a healthful self-assertiveness, the sum of those fighting qualities which sharp competition and the struggle with wild nature tended to enhance. The absence of the accustomed aids fostered initiative and originality. The demands of primitive conditions encouraged versatility in both the individual and the community. In almost any community of these pioneer farmers there were men from various walks of life, men who were ready to turn the hand to the old occupations, but whom the comparative ease of supporting a family by farming in Michigan had induced to abandon, at least temporarily, the old pursuits.³⁴

Being mainly young people, naturally they lacked the conservative elements which usually characterize the older settled sections. They had the characteristic venturesomeness of youth and radicalism, well illustrated in the public improvement schemes of the early days.³⁵ Their private enterprise is illustrated in the building of the Erie and Kalamazoo Railroad not a half dozen years after the first successful road in England.³⁶ On the other hand, their impetuosity and impatience of restraint were a fertile source of danger, as seen in the results of land speculation and the early banking laws. Filled with the traditions of the Declaration of Independence, removed from conservative

34. Hoffman, *A Winter in the West*, I, 191.

35. Campbell, *Outlines of the Political History of Michigan* 487-500.

36. *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, I, 231.



TYPICAL PIONEER CLEARING IN HEAVY TIMBER, 1834

(*Mich. Hist. Colls.*, IV, 487)

influences, and taking a new inspiration from the freedom of the wilderness, this new society had as its fundamental principle the exaltation of the individual. In striking contrast were the "volatile, reckless, amiable" French-Canadians along the eastern shore waters, reared under a paternalistic regime and reverencing the traditions of the French monarchy.³⁷

Notwithstanding this spirit of individual independence, these immigrants had a deep sense of social responsibility. Unlike the hunter type of pioneer, characteristic of some parts of the southern states, these people were a sociable, home-loving people, fond of close neighbors. This was a social bond of great value; a clearing in a Michigan forest might become the nucleus of a village or city. Despite the sharpness of competition among the settlements there was a lively sympathy which made for coherence in the social body, while the tendency to take the large outlook kept them in touch with the world outside. It is said to have been a characteristic desire of the New Englander at home to know "how things were going in other parts;" and now, in the Michigan forest, it was naturally emphasized by the desire to know what was going on "back home." In their thought national affairs loomed large, as is evident from the early Michigan newspapers, which often gave verbatim reports of the important speeches in Congress.

The attitude of the early settlers toward political and governmental problems was intensely democratic. They were themselves men of small means, many of whom were not unfamiliar with the ills of debt. Their

37. Lanman, *Michigan*, preface, vii.

sympathies were naturally with the debtor class; imprisonment for debt was abolished in Michigan about the close of this period, hastened doubtless by the experiences of land speculation and banking.³⁸ The so-called "wild-cat banking" was an experience growing naturally out of the popular demand for a "democratic" extension of what was regarded as a special privilege. The democratic spirit found a typical governmental expression in the town meeting, which is said to have found in Michigan³⁹ its first home in the West.

On the other hand these settlers were strictly conservative in their social, religious and educational inheritances from the East. Their intensified individualism tended in some respects to emphasize these; slavery, for example, was abhorrent to them.⁴⁰ The first State constitution prohibited slavery in much the same language as that used in the Ordinance of 1787.⁴¹ Many settlers came in from the states on the south because of the greater security offered in Michigan against slavery. The people of the southern Michigan counties took a prominent part later in aiding the escape of fugitive slaves from the South.⁴²

Essentially Puritan in spirit, the church and the school were to be found among the earliest institutions in every settlement. The presence of the Congregational Church was a pretty certain indication of

38. *Session Laws* (1839), 76.

39. *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, I, No. 5, p. 10.

40. Farmer, *History of Detroit*, I, 345-348; *Mich. Hist. Colls.*, VII, 523.

41. *Michigan Manual*, (1837), 45, Art. II.

42. Coolidge, *History of Berrien County*, 26.

a New England settlement. A Baptist Church was likely to be at the center of a distinctively New York settlement.⁴³ Church schools and colleges were inevitable. Kalamazoo, Albion, Olivet, Hillsdale and other present-day Michigan colleges of the denominational type are the fruit of this spirit. Religious leaders, including men like Father Richard, were to be among the strongest educational and political forces of the commonwealth. The first professors in the embryonic university at Detroit were Father Richard and John Monteith, a Catholic priest and a Protestant minister, the former being one of the early delegates to Congress. To the Reverend John D. Pierce, first State Superintendent of Public Instruction, is due more than to any other one man the shaping of Michigan's early public school system.

For the masses of the people, despite the advantages of church and school, which in truth in this period were meager, there was an almost irresistible tendency to revert to primitive conditions. Yet the domestic virtues, the strength of will and the hard common sense characteristic of the Yankee were qualities much more important to the young life of the community than the amenities of the East. A New Yorker traveling through Michigan in 1833-34 says:⁴⁴ "I found myself among the most intelligent population of the middle class (the bone and sinew of every community), I ever mixed with." On the moral side their sterling tradi-

43. The central point among the first churches and schools in a community was a fair indication of the center of population.

44. Hoffman, *A Winter in the West*, I, 152.

tions, the intensified individualism which placed a premium upon character in the individual, and the quick and generous recognition of personal merit, acted as a powerful uplift.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

THE years beginning with the organization of Michigan Territory (1805) mark the dawn of Michigan settlement by immigrants from the eastern states. Before then practically the only white men in Michigan were the French-Canadians, who occupied Detroit and the shore lands above and below that point—principally the lands near the mouth of the Raisin, the Clinton and the St. Clair. There was no inland settlement, and there was no real agricultural development, the fur trade being the chief dependence. Very few improvements came with the early American period. The hostile attitude of the Indians and the War of 1812 effectually checked any advance inland; for some years after the war there was scarcely a farm cultivated by a white man ten miles from the Territorial boundary.

The years from 1818 to 1823 may be taken as the first period of agricultural settlement in Michigan. In 1818 came the first public land sales, the beginning of navigation on the Great Lakes and the opening of work on the Erie Canal. The impulse of the new forces thus set in motion brought the first important immigration from the eastern states, and by the following year the Territory had population enough to

send a delegate to Congress. There took place in 1818 and 1820 two important exploring expeditions to the interior which were of great importance in counteracting the false reports that had been circulated about the poor quality of Michigan lands, the former resulting in the immediate founding of the first inland village, at Pontiac. In 1819 and 1821 two Indian treaties opened to survey and settlement all of eastern Michigan, and the years 1821-23 saw the founding of two Indian missions—one in southwestern Michigan near Niles, destined to be an important nucleus of frontier settlement in that section, another at the site of Grand Rapids. By the latter year explorations had been made up the Raisin and the Huron river into Lenawee and Washtenaw counties, and up the Clinton. The general stir of the year 1823 is signalized also by the authorization of the second grade of Territorial government, offering to immigrants the inducement of a larger participation in the public affairs of the Territory.

A second period extends from 1823 to 1829. The first strong impulse of the period came with the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825, which had an immediate effect on steam navigation of the Lakes. In the same year began the survey of the Chicago Road, which at once gave impetus to settlement along its route through Wayne, Washtenaw, Lenawee and the southern tier of counties. By 1826 inland village centers had been established at Pontiac, Tecumseh, Adrian, Ann Arbor, Ypsilanti, Utica and Romeo. In 1827 the need of local government for the settlers was met by the organization of a large number of townships. The first

important common school legislation was passed by the Territorial legislature in that year; indeed this was a prominent year in the government's recognition and aid of settlement.

In 1829 began a period of greatly accelerated extension of the frontier and of rapid filling in about the older settlements which continued until 1832. One of the most marked signs of the new impulse was the authorization and partial survey in 1829 of the Territorial Road through the Kalamazoo Valley. In the same year the so-called "Cabinet counties," named for President Jackson and the members of his Cabinet, were established in that region, and the first counties in southwestern Michigan were organized (Cass and St. Joseph). The year 1831 is specially memorable for the planting of many villages along both the Chicago Road and the Territorial Road, some of which were soon to become county seat villages and are today the principal cities of southwestern Michigan. It was also notable for the extensive land sales, which exceeded those of any year prior to 1835. In 1830-31 the first important settlements of the Saginaw Valley began to appear, at Grand Blanc, Flint, Lapeer and Saginaw; and in the former year the Territorial government granted a charter for a railway into that region, the first railway charter granted within the area of the Old Northwest.

The period of 1832-34 was one of intermittent growth. The first year stands forth prominently as a black-letter year. The fears excited by the Indian uprising under Black Hawk, and the epidemic of cholera, while not putting a stop to immigration, seri-

ously retarded it in all parts of the Territory. A degree of revival came with 1833. The most noteworthy events were the beginning of shipments of grain and breadstuffs to eastern markets and the awakening of interest in the Grand River Valley; the Grand River Road was surveyed from Detroit to the mouth of the Grand River in that year; Ionia was founded, beginnings were made at Grand Haven and accelerated at Grand Rapids, and the first marked land speculations in western Michigan began. In 1834 there was a revival of the cholera epidemic, with even greater severity, which in the eastern part of the Territory tended to deaden all activities.

The period before 1835 was a period of preparation, the character and fulness of which are witnessed by the great transformations of the following years which ushered in statehood. These were the years of the great land speculations; before 1835 there were sold in Michigan a little over two million acres of land; sales leaped to nearly two million acres in the one year 1835, and nearly four million acres were sold in 1836. This is an index to activities in all fields. Counties and townships were rapidly organized in the remoter parts of the Grand and Saginaw valleys, a State constitution was adopted, Congress was petitioned for admission to the Union, a State government was organized and an extensive scheme of internal improvements was projected. But the financial crisis of 1837 came like a sudden and severe frost in the growing season. It brought universal disaster and made the years immediately following a period of slow and painful recovery.

The early settlers of Michigan came principally from New York and New England. They were impelled on the one hand by economic changes which affected especially the cost of living in their old homes, and on the other they were invited by cheap and fertile Government land where prosperity was promised by the mere rise of land values from the development of the new country. The Government helped them by protecting the frontier, extinguishing the Indian land titles, surveying and selling the lands, aiding the building of roads, establishing postoffices and providing for local government. The obstacles which these settlers met and the conditions that helped their endeavors, the checks and stimuli which influenced the amount and distribution of population in this period, seem worthy of repeating together.

There were, first, those checks and stimuli which were due to physical environment. The surface of Michigan, in places level, slightly undulating, or rolling, rarely inconveniently hilly, with a minimum of stone, swamp or sandy and rocky barrens, insured a plentiful and widely distributed water supply and made farming easier. Its soil was in general highly productive, durable and easy to cultivate. The winding courses of large streams distributed excellent mill sites, forming as it were, axes of settlement. Springs of pure water were plentiful, due to the porosity of the soil and the impervious sub-strata of limestone and clay. Springs of mineral water were common, having saline properties in the Saginaw region and elsewhere in the eastern counties. Various kinds of hard and soft timber suited to all kinds of manufacture were

liberally distributed in varying density. In places, as on the clay soils of Monroe and Wayne counties, the density of heavy timber was a serious obstacle to settlers; but adjacent to the heavily timbered areas there was a variety of oak openings, burr-oak plains, and small prairies, the latter offering a special inducement to settlers from the states southward familiar with prairie land; streams, shore water and the Indian trails lay at hand to aid communication and transportation.

Among the conditions other than physical environment affecting the settler's relations to land, were the Indian land titles. These titles in the Lower Peninsula were, with slight exceptions, extinguished by four great treaties in 1807, 1819, 1821 and 1836; the first ceded the southeastern part of Michigan, west as far as the principal meridian and north well into the Saginaw region; within two years near the beginning of this period, by the treaties of Saginaw and Chicago in 1819 and 1821, the great belt of country comprising the valleys of the Saginaw, the Grand, the Kalamazoo and the St. Joseph River systems was transferred to the Government. Excepting in the southwest these lands came upon the market far in advance of the actual needs of settlers, and the public land sales were regulated by the Government in the true interests of settlement. Specially noteworthy are the several acts of Congress repealing the credit system, reducing the size of parcels in which land could be purchased, and recognizing the claims of squatters. Often the operations of speculators kept settlers from desired lands or impeded the growth of a struggling village, but these

laws tended to counteract them in the interests of the actual settlers. The scarcity of a medium of exchange for some years after the War of 1812, which was a handicap on the transference of properties, was partially remedied by the chartering of banks in the Territory.

The early reports which reached the East about Michigan were conflicting, but on the whole they reacted favorably. Edward Tiffin's report in 1815 created lasting prejudice in many minds; but the later United States surveys did much to offset it, and travelers like McKenney, Evans, and Hoffman gave through the press favorable views of the new Territory. Makers of schoolbooks and guidebooks revised their works in the light of later knowledge. Settlers returning to the East on business, or to visit, or to bring out their relatives, gave their views. Letters increased in number with the volume of immigration and the improvement of post roads. Many of these "letters from the West" were published in eastern newspapers. Speculators circulated by the many thousands glowing praises of Michigan lands. Michigan newspapers, especially the Detroit papers, beginning with the *Detroit Gazette* in 1817, set forth Michigan's advantages to settlers.

The improvements made in transportation in this period, though they advanced little beyond the statutes authorizing them were, by anticipation, a stimulus of first importance to settlement. The most important were the national military roads extending along the entire water front southward from Fort Gratiot and branching into the interior from all the important centers of population on this shore road.

The Chicago Road is the key to the earliest inland settlements outside those in Oakland, which were influenced by the Saginaw Road. The most important road authorized by the Territorial government in this period was that through the Kalamazoo Valley, the importance of which for settlement was only second to that of the Chicago Road. There were small beginnings in national harbor improvement, and preparations were active for canals and railroads. Steam navigation on the Great Lakes and the opening of the Erie Canal were strong stimuli to immigration, though the masses of immigrants in this period appear to have come overland.

Of the external influences causing immigration none were more potent than those causes which stimulated foreign immigration, especially economic pressure in Ireland and the European revolutions of 1830.

One constant disabling factor to settlers was the prevalence of malarial diseases, especially the "ague and fever," caused by the mosquitoes which infested all parts of the Territory. The Black Hawk War of 1832 and the cholera epidemics of 1832 and 1834 affected settlement seriously and widely, but temporarily.

In the character of the population there was both a check and a stimulus. There were, besides the immigrants from the eastern states of the Union, the French-Canadians and a sprinkling of English, Irish, Scotch and Germans. The data is wanting with which to determine the proportion of the foreign-born in the total population, but it was small. Excepting the French-Canadians, it first became appreciable after

the revolutions of 1830 in Europe. There was of course a larger proportion who were of foreign descent. Combining results from the study of Washtenaw County with those obtained from the more general data given for the several settlement areas, it is apparently safe to say of the native element that excepting in the southwestern counties an overwhelming majority had their last place of residence in western New York; also that of these a very large proportion were born in the New England States, principally in Vermont, Massachusetts and Connecticut.

The main agents determining the sources of population were the position of the Territory almost directly west of Canada, New York and New England, the comparative ease of transportation from the East, the appeal made by the physical and economic character of Michigan to the East rather than to the South, the economic and political pressure in the eastern states and abroad, and the southern barrier of competing lands in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois.

Forces tending to amalgamate the native and foreign elements were, in the first place, the great preponderance of the Americans in number; but equally efficient was the economic fact of the necessity of a common struggle for a livelihood under conditions which fostered a democratic appreciation of the worth of the individual.

The presence of the Indians had its good and its bad features. As agricultural settlers the Indians were a negligible quantity in the population, but they were a factor to be reckoned with in their relations with settlers. The Indian could be helpful to the settler

as a guide or temporary aid in getting supplies, or he could be annoying; and he was more likely to be the latter when in liquor or when influenced by hostile traders. The Indian villages called attention to choice spots, though the reservations were on the whole a source of delay to the settler.

The hospitality of the Michigan French-Canadians was a welcome aid to the first American immigrants, but the prejudices and the thriftlessness of these original settlers held back from enterprising methods much of the best land along the streams near the southeastern shore. The business ability of the younger settlers from New York and New England was a strong stimulus. There was a notable absence of social and religious eccentrics, and in general the moral tone of the settlers was high, inviting desirable elements of population from the older centers.

The chief motives that guided settlers in choosing locations for settlement are clear, but a very long and careful scrutiny would be needed to determine except roughly the physiographic preferences that influenced people from particular states or countries. The compact settlements of the French-Canadians were made at the river mouths, for ease of communication, of defense, of food supply and of trade. Race affiliation doubtless played a part. These people kept quite away from the interior. For their purposes there was more land along shore than they needed. The only Frenchmen in the interior were the occasional Indian traders or the agents of the American Fur Company.

Foreign elements other than the Canadian-French seem to have been most numerous in Detroit and the

shore villages. Germans had begun to gather in the vicinity of Ann Arbor, and in less numbers at other points in the interior. English settlers appeared at White Pigeon and at various points on the Chicago Road. There were Scotch in northwestern Macomb County. The high land of Bruce Township may have had upon the Scotch settlers an influence similar to that reported about the effect which the New England aspect of Romeo and Vermontville had upon their New England settlers. A Scotch settlement or other settlement, as in the case of the Canadian-French, had a natural affinity for settlers from the same nation, section or State. The power of this influence to direct later settlement appears not to have been strong in places where superior economic advantages conflicted with it. The influences of previous occupation are obvious in farming and lumbering, and to some extent in the village industries and trades; but men of great diversity of previous occupations engaged in farming.

The main agents affecting distribution of population were the relative position and excellence of the various physical and economic advantages: water power, drainage, springs of mineral and drinking water, lakes, trails, fertile soils, openings and forests. Later conditions were the roads and the presence of older settlements. Not least were the reports favorable or unfavorable about lands, the healthfulness of the climate, and the operations of speculators.

The rate and distribution of settlement is roughly indicated by the organization of counties. Before the beginning of public land sales in Detroit in 1818 only three counties had sufficient people to warrant organiza-

tion; these were Wayne, Monroe and Macomb. In 1821 the remaining shore county of St. Clair was organized; and in the preceding year similar attention was given Oakland, the first inland county. The organizing of Washtenaw and Lenawee counties in 1826 showed an extension of settlement along the Chicago Road, and in 1829-31 a further extension is indicated in the prairie region of the southwest by the organization of St. Joseph, Cass, Berrien and Kalamazoo counties. Jackson and Calhoun counties on the Territorial Road, and Branch on the Chicago Road, were organized in 1832-33. This included all of the two lower tiers of counties excepting Van Buren and Hillsdale. No counties were organized before 1835 in either the Grand or Saginaw valleys, though a few settlements had been made there; the rapid growth in 1835-37 is indicated by the organizing of all of the present counties in those regions.

The direction of settlement is seen to have been from the eastern shore along the larger rivers and roads inland to the southeastern divide, moving further west first along the Chicago Road, then along the Territorial Road. In the southwest the organizing of Kalamazoo before Jackson and Calhoun counties suggests another influence, which is found in the projection of settlement from Ohio and Indiana across Cass and St. Joseph to the Kalamazoo prairies. The backwardness of Branch and Hillsdale counties appears to have been due mainly to their dense forests and to the attraction of the more desirable prairie lands westward.

The comparative growth of the several sections in population was about such as these facts would suggest. At the end of 1834 the counties east of the dividing ridge were far ahead of those west of it, with a population nearly five times as large. The section having the most people was that comprising the first inland counties—Oakland, Washtenaw and Lenawee—which exceeded the population of the shore counties by a few thousand. The counties along the Chicago Road west of Lenawee County exceeded the population of those on the Territorial Road west of Washtenaw by about a third. The Grand and Saginaw valleys had but a few hundred settlers. Of all the counties, Wayne took the lead, having within a few hundred as many people as the whole of the Territory west of the dividing ridge; but a large part of this was urban population; Detroit had nearly five thousand people. In rural population the leadership went to Washtenaw; Oakland County, despite its earlier start and larger area, was not, like Washtenaw, on the main line of immigration in this period. On the Chicago Road, in the St. Joseph Valley, the leading county was Cass, closely followed by St. Joseph; on the Territorial Road, Kalamazoo County had much more than double the population of any other county west of Washtenaw. Cass, St. Joseph and Kalamazoo counties had each slightly above three thousand people; Berrien, Calhoun and Jackson had each a few hundred less than two thousand; Branch and Hillsdale counties together barely exceeded a thousand.

By 1837, owing to the advance of immigration to the interior, notable changes had taken place in the

relative proportions of population in all sections. The total population of Michigan was then about 175,000, of which considerably over a third was west of the dividing ridge in the valleys of the St. Joseph, the Kalamazoo, the Grand and the Saginaw rivers. A similar proportion was contained in counties above the northern boundaries of Wayne and Kalamazoo; that is, above the two southern tiers. The center of population was in the vicinity of Washtenaw.

Comparing sections, the four eastern shore counties about equaled, within a few thousand, the population of the first three inland counties of Oakland, Washtenaw and Lenawee; and the counties of the St. Joseph Valley on the Chicago Road had about a third more people than those in the Kalamazoo Valley on the Territorial Road. In the Grand River region, with nearly double the area of the Kalamazoo Valley, there was about a third as many settlers as in that section; while northeast, in the Saginaw country, in a much smaller area (including Livingston County) there was about one-half again as many settlers as in the Grand River region.

The population of the Grand and Saginaw valleys together about equalled the population of the single county of Oakland, or Washtenaw, or Wayne. These were the three most populous counties, containing each a few over twenty thousand people, with Wayne slightly in the lead owing to the population of Detroit.

A contrast worthy of note was presented by the three first inland counties—Oakland, Washtenaw and Lenawee—with the neighboring counties; eliminating

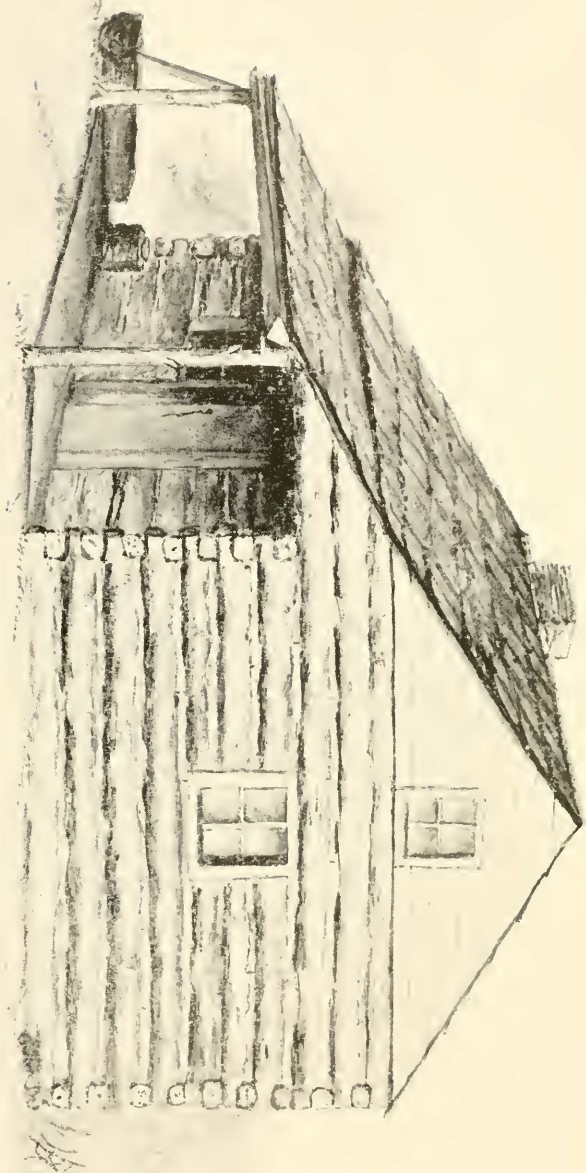
Detroit in the case of Wayne and Washtenaw, each had a greater population than the county immediately east or west of it. The difference was very marked in the counties immediately west. In the St. Joseph Valley the leading county was still Cass, followed closely by St. Joseph; the population of Berrien about equalled that of Branch or Hillsdale. The populations of the counties in the Kalamazoo Valley decreased somewhat regularly in amount with the distance westward, being greatest in Jackson County and least in Van Buren and Allegan; the latter two numbered together but a few over two thousand. The most populous counties of the Grand River country were Kent, Ionia and Eaton, Kent nearly doubling the population of either of the others. Clinton and Barry were the least settled. In the Saginaw country Livingston County ranked first, more than doubling the population of either Genesee or Lapeer, which numbered about two thousand each. The county of Saginaw had less than a thousand people.

In capacity to centralize population, the county seat villages had a decided advantage over all other villages. Detroit had the additional advantage of being the capital of the Territory and was the only incorporated city in this period. Most of the county seats were incorporated villages.

As social and political centers these communities, with the exception of Detroit, had as yet scarcely developed a strongly marked individuality. Detroit owed its prestige to its age, its French traditions and population, its military prominence, and its being the

capital city of the Territory. Its commencing materially anew after the fire of 1805 with a plan modelled on the city of Washington gave it more of an American air than it would probably have attained otherwise for many years. While the spirit of the old French regime remained a permanent heritage the aversion of the French to changes, their small appreciation of popular education and civil institutions, and especially their lack of enterprise, made them temporarily a hindrance to settlement. But as Detroit was the rendezvous for almost all settlers coming from the East, and the point from which almost all travelers out of the Territory took their departure for the East, it shared in all the forces and activities that made for or against the settlement of the Territory; the conservative influence of the French thus tended to be rapidly overborne. Although Detroit had in 1837 but little over eight thousand inhabitants, it had acquired as a result of being an epitome of the urban life of the Territory a degree of cosmopolitanism characteristic of a city of many times that number.

Economic classes were not sharply distinguished in this period, industry differentiating so little in this primitive society. The interaction of farm and village was just beginning to be felt, and in the villages the demand for carpenters, mechanics and laborers in shop and factory was growing. All the industries were new and reflected a rich but undeveloped environment; yet lumbering, agriculture and manufacturing had grown sufficiently to show the trend of the future and its great possibilities.



A TYPICAL "IMPROVED" LOG HOUSE OF THE EARLY DAYS
(Mich. Hist. Colls., XXVI, 644)

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

A

PUBLIC ACTS RELATING TO MICHIGAN TERRITORY

An Ordinance, for the government of the territory of the United States, Northwest of the river Ohio [1787].

Be it ordained, by the United States, in Congress assembled, That the said territory, for the purposes of temporary government, be one district; subject, however, to be divided into two districts, as future circumstances may, in the opinion of Congress, make it expedient.

Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, That the estates, both of resident and non-resident proprietors in the said territory, dying intestate, shall descend to and be distributed among their children, and the descendants of a deceased child, in equal parts; the descendants of a deceased child or grand child, to take a share of their deceased parent in equal parts among them; and where there shall be no children or descendants, then in equal parts to the next of kin, in equal degree: and among collaterals, the children of a deceased brother or sister of the intestate, shall have, in equal parts among them, their deceased parent's share; and there shall, in no case, be a distinction between kindred of the whole and half blood; saving in all cases to the widow of the intestate her third part of the real estate for life, and one-third part of the personal estate; and this law relative to descents and dower shall remain in full force until altered by the legislature of the district. And until the governor and judges shall adopt laws, as hereinafter mentioned, estates in the said territory may be devised or bequeathed by wills in writing, signed and sealed by him or her, in whom the estate may be, (being of full age,) and attested by three witnesses; and real estates may be conveyed by lease and release, or bargain and sale, signed, sealed and delivered by the person, being of full age, in whom the estate may be, and attested by two witnesses, provided such will be duly proved,

such conveyances be acknowledged, or the execution thereof duly proved, and be recorded within one year after proper magistrates, courts, and registers shall be appointed for that purpose; and personal property may be transferred by delivery; saving, however, to the French and Canadian inhabitants, and other settlers of the Kaskaskias, Saint Vincents, and the neighboring villages, who have heretofore professed themselves citizens of Virginia, their laws and customs now in force among them, relative to the descent and conveyance of property.

Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, That there shall be appointed, from time to time, by congress, a governor, whose commission shall continue in force for the term of three years, unless sooner revoked by Congress; he shall reside in the district, and have a freehold estate therein, in one thousand acres of land, while in the exercise of his office.

There shall be appointed from time to time, by congress, a secretary, whose commission shall continue in force for four years, unless sooner revoked; he shall reside in the district, and have a freehold estate therein, in five hundred acres of land, while in the exercise of his office. It shall be his duty to keep and preserve the acts and laws passed by the legislature, and the public records of the district, and the proceedings of the governor in his executive department; and transmit authentic copies of such acts and proceedings every six months, to the secretary of congress. There shall also be appointed a court, to consist of three judges, any two of whom to form a court, who shall have a common law jurisdiction, and reside in the district, and have each therein a freehold estate in five hundred acres of land, while in the exercise of their offices; and their commissions shall continue in force during good behaviour.

The governor and judges, or a majority of them, shall adopt and publish in the district such laws of the original states, criminal and civil, as may be necessary and best suited to the circumstances of the district, and report them to congress from time to time; which laws shall be in force in the district until the organization of the general assembly therein, unless disapproved of by congress; but afterwards the legislature shall have authority to alter them as they shall think fit.

The governor for the time being, shall be commander-in-chief of the militia, appoint and commission all officers in the same, below the rank of general officers; all general officers shall be appointed and commissioned by congress.

Previous to the organization of the general assembly, the governor shall appoint such magistrates and other civil officers, in each county or township, as he shall find necessary for the

preservation of the peace and good order in the same. After the general assembly shall be organized, the powers and duties of the magistrates and other civil officers shall be regulated and defined by the said assembly; but all magistrates and other civil officers, not herein otherwise directed shall, during the continuance of this temporary government, be appointed by the governor.

For the prevention of crimes and injuries, the laws to be adopted or made, shall have force in all parts of the district, and for the execution of process, criminal and civil, the governor shall make proper divisions thereof; and he shall proceed from time to time, as circumstances may require, to lay out the parts of the district in which the Indian titles shall have been extinguished, into counties and townships, subject however, to such alterations as may thereafter be made by the legislature.

So soon as there shall be five thousand free male inhabitants of full age, in the district, upon giving proof thereof to the governor, they shall receive authority, with time and place, to elect representatives from their counties or townships, to represent them in the general assembly: Provided, That for every five hundred free male inhabitants, there shall be one representative, and so on progressively with the number of free male inhabitants, shall the right of representation increase, until the number of representatives shall amount to twenty-five, after which, the number and proportion of representatives shall be regulated by the legislature: Provided, That no person be eligible or qualified to act as a representative, unless he shall have been a citizen of one of the United States three years, and be a resident in the district, or unless he shall have resided in the district three years, and in either case shall likewise hold in his own right, in fee simple, two hundred acres of land within the same: Provided also, That a freehold in fifty acres of land in the district, having been a citizen of one of the States, and being resident in the district, or the like freehold, and two years' residence in the district, shall be necessary to qualify a man as an elector of a representative.

The representative thus elected shall serve for the term of two years; and in case of the death of a representative, or removal from office, the governor shall issue a writ to the county or township for which he was a member, to elect another in his stead, to serve for the residue of the term.

The general assembly, or legislature, shall consist of the governor, legislative council, and a house of representatives. The legislative council shall consist of five members, to continue in office five years, unless sooner removed by congress; any three

of whom to be a quorum. And the members of the council shall be nominated and appointed in the following manner, to wit: As soon as representatives shall be elected, the governor shall appoint a time and place for them to meet together, and when met, they shall nominate ten persons, residents in the district, and each possessed of a freehold in five hundred acres of land, and return their names to congress; five of whom congress shall appoint and commission to serve as aforesaid; and whenever a vacancy shall happen in the council, by death or removal from office, the house of representatives shall nominate two persons, qualified as aforesaid, for each vacancy, and return their names to congress; one of whom congress shall appoint and commission for the residue of the term. And every five years, four months at least before the expiration of the time of service of the members of council, the said house shall nominate ten persons, qualified as aforesaid, and return their names to congress; five of whom congress shall appoint and commission to serve as members of the council five years, unless sooner removed. And the governor, legislative council, and house of representatives, shall have authority to make laws, in all cases, for the good government of the district, not repugnant to the principles and articles in this ordinance established and declared: And all bills, having passed by a majority in the house, and by a majority in the council, shall be referred to the governor for his assent; but no bill or legislative act whatever, shall be of any force without his assent. The governor shall have power to convene, prorogue, and dissolve the general assembly, when in his opinion it shall be expedient.

The governor, judges, legislative council, secretary, and such other officers as congress shall appoint in the district, shall take an oath or affirmation of fidelity and of office; the governor before the president of congress, and all other officers before the governor. As soon as a legislature shall be formed in the district, the council and house assembled, in one room, shall have authority, by joint ballot, to elect a delegate to congress, who shall have a seat in congress, with a right of debating, but not of voting, during this temporary government.

And for extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty, which form the basis whereon these republics, their laws, and constitutions are erected; to fix and establish those principles as the basis of all laws, constitutions and governments, which forever hereafter shall be formed in the said territory; to provide also for the establishment of states, and permanent governments therein, and for their admission to a share in the

federal councils, on an equal footing with the original states, at as early periods as may be consistent with the general interest:

It is hereby ordained and declared, by the authority aforesaid, That the following articles shall be considered as articles of compact between the original states, and the people and states in the said territory, and forever remain unalterable, unless by common consent, to wit:

ARTICLE I

No person, demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner, shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments, in the said territory.

ARTICLE II

The inhabitants of the said territory shall always be entitled to the benefits of the writ of habeas corpus, and trial by jury; of a proportionate representation of the people in the legislature, and of judicial proceedings according to the course of the common law. All persons shall be bailable, unless for capital offences, where the proof shall be evident, or the presumption great. All fines shall be moderate; and no cruel or unusual punishments shall be inflicted. No man shall be deprived of his liberty or property, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land; and should the public exigencies make it necessary, for the common preservation, to take any person's property, or to demand his particular services, full compensation shall be made for the same. And in the just preservation of rights and property, it is understood and declared, that no law ought ever to be made, or have force in the said territory, that shall in any manner whatever interfere with or affect private contracts or engagements, bona fide, and without fraud previously formed.

ARTICLE III

Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged. The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent, and in their property, rights, and liberty, they shall never be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars, authorized by congress; but laws, founded in justice and humanity, shall, from time to time, be made, for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them.

ARTICLE IV

The said territory, and the states which may be formed therein, shall forever remain a part of this confederacy of the United States of America, subject to the articles of confederation, and to such alterations therein as shall be constitutionally made; and to all the acts and ordinances of the United States in congress assembled, conformable thereto. The inhabitants and settlers in the said territory shall be subject to pay a part of the federal debts, contracted or to be contracted, and a proportional part of the expenses of government, to be apportioned on them by congress, according to the same common rule and measure by which apportionments thereof shall be made on the other states; and the taxes for paying their proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the district or districts, or new states, as in the original states, within the time agreed upon by the United States in congress assembled. The legislatures of those districts or new states, shall never interfere with the primary disposal of the soil by the United States in congress assembled, nor with any regulations congress may find necessary for securing the title in such soil to the bona fide purchasers. No tax shall be imposed on lands, the property of the United States; and in no case shall non-resident proprietors be taxed higher than residents. The navigable waters leading into the Mississippi and St. Lawrence, and the carrying places between the same, shall be common highways, and forever free, as well to the inhabitants of the said territory, as to the citizens of the United States, and those of any other states that may be admitted into the confederacy, without any tax, impost, or duty therefor.

ARTICLE V

There shall be formed in the said territory, not less than three, nor more than five states; and the boundaries of the states, as soon as Virginia shall alter her act of cession, and consent to the same, shall become fixed and established as follows, to wit: The western state in the said territory shall be bounded by the Mississippi, the Ohio, and Wabash rivers; a direct line drawn from the Wabash and Post Vincents, due north to the territorial line between the United States and Canada; and by the said territorial line to the Lake of the Woods and Mississippi. The middle state shall be bounded by the said direct line, the Wabash from Post Vincents to the Ohio, by the Ohio, by a direct line drawn due north from the mouth of the Great Miami, to the

said territorial line, and by the said territorial line. The eastern state shall be bounded by the last mentioned direct line, the Ohio, Pennsylvania and the said territorial line: Provided, however, and it is further understood and declared, That the boundaries of these three states shall be subject so far to be altered, that if congress shall hereafter find it expedient, they shall have authority to form one or two states in that part of the said territory which lies north of an east and west line drawn through the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan. And whenever any of the said states shall have sixty thousand free inhabitants therein, such state shall be admitted, by the delegates, into the congress of the United States, on an equal footing with the original states, in all respects whatever; and shall be at liberty to form a permanent constitution and state government. Provided, The constitution and government so to be formed, shall be republican, and in conformity to the principles contained in these articles; and, so far as it can be consistent with the general interests of the confederacy, such admission shall be allowed at an earlier period, and when there may be a less number of free inhabitants in the state than sixty thousand.

ARTICLE VI

There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted: Provided always, That any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original states, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service, as aforesaid.

Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, That the resolutions of the twenty-third of April, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four, relative to the subject of this ordinance, be and the same are hereby repealed, and declared null and void.

Done by the United States, in congress assembled, the thirteenth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of their sovereignty and independence the twelfth.

An Act to divide the Indiana Territory into two separate governments.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That from and after the thirtieth day of June next, all that part of the Indiana territory, which lies north of a line drawn east from the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan, until it shall intersect Lake Erie, and east of a line drawn from the said southerly bend through the middle of said lake to its northern extremity, and thence due north to the northern boundary of the United States, shall, for the purpose of temporary government, constitute a separate territory, and be called Michigan.

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That there shall be established within the said territory, a government in all respects similar to that provided by the ordinance of Congress, passed on the thirteenth day of July, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, for the government of the territory of the United States, northwest of the river Ohio; and by an act passed on the seventh day of August, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine, entitled "An act to provide for the government of the territory northwest of the river Ohio;" and the inhabitants thereof shall be entitled to, and enjoy all and singular the rights, privileges, and advantages granted and secured to the people of the territory of the United States, northwest of the river Ohio, by the said ordinance.

Sec. 3. And be it further enacted, That the officers for the said territory, who by virtue of this act shall be appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall respectively exercise the same powers, perform the same duties and receive for their services the same compensations, as by the ordinance aforesaid and the laws of the United States, have been provided and established for similar officers in the Indiana territory; and the duties and emoluments of superintendent of Indian affairs, shall be united with those of governor.

Sec. 4. And be it further enacted, That nothing in this act contained shall be construed so as, in any manner, to affect the government now in force in the Indiana territory, further than to prohibit the exercise thereof within the said territory of Michigan, from and after the aforesaid thirtieth day of June next.

Sec. 5. And be it further enacted, That all suits, process, and proceeding, which, on the thirtieth day of June next, shall be pending in the court of any county, which shall be included

within the said territory of Michigan; and also all suits, process, and proceedings, which on the said thirtieth day of June next, shall be pending in the general court of the Indiana territory, in consequence of any writ of removal, or order for trial at bar, and which had been removed from any of the counties included within the limits of the territory of Michigan aforesaid, shall, in all things concerning the same, be proceeded on, and judgments and decrees rendered thereon, in the same manner as if the said Indiana territory had remained undivided.

Sec. 6. And be it further enacted, That Detroit shall be the seat of government of the said territory, until Congress shall otherwise direct.

Approved, January 11, 1805.

An Act authorizing the election of a delegate from the Michigan territory to the Congress of the United States, and extending the right of suffrage to the citizens of said territory.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That the citizens of the Michigan territory be, and they are hereby authorized to elect one delegate to the Congress of the United States, who shall possess the qualifications, and exercise the privileges, heretofore required of, and granted to, the delegates from the several territories of the United States.

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That every free white male citizen of said territory, above the age of twenty-one years, who shall have resided therein one year next preceding an election, and who shall have paid a county or territorial tax, shall be entitled to vote at such election for a delegate to the Congress of the United States, in such manner, and at such times and places, as shall be prescribed by the governor and judges of said territory.

Sec. 3. And be it further enacted, That the person, duly qualified according to law, who shall receive the greatest number of votes at such election, shall be furnished, by the governor of said territory, with a certificate, under his official seal, setting forth that he is duly elected, by the qualified electors, the delegate from said territory to the Congress of the United States, for the term of two years from the date of said certificate, which shall entitle the person to whom the same shall be given to take his seat in the House of Representatives in that capacity.

Approved, February 16, 1819.

An Act to amend the ordinance and acts of Congress for the government of the territory of Michigan, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That all citizens of the United States, having the qualifications prescribed by the act, entitled "An act authorizing the election of a delegate from the Michigan territory to the Congress of the United States, and extending the right of suffrage to the citizens of said territory," approved February the sixteenth, eighteen hundred and nineteen, shall be entitled to vote at any public election in the said territory, and shall be eligible to any office therein.

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That the same powers which were granted to the governor, legislative council, and House of Representatives, of the North-western territory, by the ordinance of Congress, passed on the thirteenth day of July, seventeen hundred and eighty-seven, and which powers are transferred to the territory of Michigan by the act entitled "An act to divide the Indiana territory into two separate governments," approved January the eleventh, eighteen hundred and five, are hereby conferred upon, and shall be exercised by the governor and a legislative council: which council shall consist of nine persons, any five of whom shall be a quorum, and who shall serve for the term of two years, and be appointed as follows, to wit: At the next election of the delegate to Congress from the said territory after the passing of this act, the qualified electors shall choose, by ballot, eighteen persons, having the qualifications of electors; and such election shall be conducted, certified, and the result declared, agreeably to the territorial law prescribing the mode of electing such delegate. But the time and manner of electing the members of the legislative council shall, after the first election, be prescribed by the legislature of the said territory; and the names of the eighteen persons, having the greatest number of votes, shall be transmitted by the governor of the said territory, to the President of the United States, who shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoint therefrom, the said legislative council; and vacancies occurring in the said council shall be filled in the same manner, from the list transmitted as aforesaid; And the President shall have power, in the recess of the Senate, to make the appointments authorized by this act; but all appointments, so made, shall be submitted to the Senate at their next session, for confirmation. The first legislative council shall be assembled at such time and place

as the governor shall, by proclamation, designate. No session, in any one year, shall exceed the term of sixty days, nor shall any act passed by the governor and legislative council be valid, after the same shall have been disapproved by Congress. The members of the legislative council shall receive two dollars each, per day, during their attendance at the sessions thereof, and two dollars for every twenty miles in going to, and returning therefrom, in full compensation for their services, and which shall be paid by the United States: Provided, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to affect the right of the citizens of said territory to elect a delegate to Congress; and the duties required of the governor [governor] and judges by the act referred to in the first section of this act, shall be performed by the governor [governor] and legislative council.

Sec. 3. And be it further enacted, That the powers and duties of the judges of the said territory shall be regulated by such laws as are, or may be, in force therein; and the said judges shall possess a chancery, as well as common law, jurisdiction. The tenure of office of the said judges shall be limited to four years: and on the first day of February, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-four, and every four years thereafter, the office of each of the said judges shall become vacant: Provided, That nothing in this act contained shall be so construed as to deprive the judges of the territory of the jurisdiction conferred upon them by the laws of the United States.

Sec. 4. And be it further enacted, That the legislature shall have power to submit, at any time, to the people of the said territory, the question, whether a general assembly shall be organized agreeably to the provisions of the ordinance aforesaid; and, if a majority of the qualified electors shall be in favour of such organization, then the powers vested by this act in the legislative council shall cease and determine, and a general assembly shall be organized, in conformity with the said ordinance, subject to the following provision: The governor [governor] of the said territory shall divide the same into five districts, and the qualified voters in each district shall elect one member of the legislative council, which shall possess the same powers heretofore granted to the legislative council of the North-western territory; and the members of the council shall hold their offices four years; and until there shall be five thousand free white male inhabitants, of twenty-one years and upwards, in said territory, the whole number of Representatives to the general assembly shall not be less than seven, nor more than nine, to be apportioned by the governor [governor] to the several counties in the said territory, agreeably to the number of free white males above

the age of twenty-one years, which they may contain: but after the organization of the general assembly, the apportionment of the representation shall be made by such assembly: Provided, That there shall not be more than twelve, nor less than seven, of the whole number of representatives, until there shall be six thousand free white male inhabitants, above the age of twenty-one years; after which, the number of representatives shall be regulated agreeably to the ordinance aforesaid.

Sec. 5. And be it further enacted, That the govenor [governor] of the said territory shall have power to grant pardons for offenses against the laws of the said territory, and reprieves for those against the United States, until the decision of the President thereon [thereon] shall be made known.

Sec. 6. And be it further enacted, That so much of the ordinance aforesaid, and laws of the United States, as are inconsistent with the provisions of this act, be, and the same are hereby, as respects the territory of Michigan, repealed.

Sec. 7. And be it further enacted, That from and after the first day of June next, there shall be but one clerk of the supreme court of the territory of Michigan, who shall perform all the duties of clerk of said court, whether sitting as a circuit and district court, or as judges of the territorial court.

Sec. 8. And be it further enacted, That the accounting officers of the treasury shall settle and adjust the accounts of John J. Deming, making him a reasonable allowance for his services as clerk of said district and circuit court, up to the first day of June next, and that the same be paid out of any money in the treasury, not otherwise appropriated.

Approved, March 3, 1823.

An Act to allow the citizens of the territory of Michigan to elect the members of their legislative council, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That at the next, and at each succeeding election of members of the legislative council of the territory of Michigan, the qualified electors of the said territory may, instead of choosing twenty-six, as heretofore directed, elect thirteen fit persons as their representatives, in the manner, and with the qualifications now, or hereafter to be, prescribed by law; which said representatives, so elected, shall be and constitute the said legislative council. And

for the purpose of securing an equal representation, the governor and legislative council of said territory, are hereby authorized and required to apportion the representatives, so to be elected as aforesaid, among the several counties or districts, in the said territory, in proportion, as near as may be, to the whole number of inhabitants in each county or district, exclusive of Indians not taxed.

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That the said governor and legislative council be, and they are hereby, authorized to provide by law for holding, annually, one or more courts, by one or more of the judges of the supreme court of said territory, in each of the counties in that part of the territory eastward of the Lake Michigan; and also for the appointment of a clerk in each county to act as clerk to the said court therein; and further to prescribe the jurisdiction of said courts, and the powers and duties of the judge or judges holding the same.

Sec. 3. And be it further enacted, That the judges of the supreme court of the territory of Michigan have, and may exercise, the right of appointing the clerk of the said court, and of removing him at pleasure.

Sec. 4. And be it further enacted, That no member of the legislative council shall be eligible to any office created or the fees of which were regulated by a law or laws passed whilst he was a member, during the period for which he was elected, and for one year thereafter.

Sec. 5. And be it further enacted, That all laws, and parts of laws, in so far as the same shall be inconsistent with the provisions of this act, are hereby repealed; and, further, that Congress have the right, at any time, to alter or repeal this act.

Approved, January 29, 1827.

B

SCHEDULE OF INDIAN LAND CESSIONS IN THE LOWER PENINSULA
OF MICHIGAN, 1795-1837.

(Bureau of American Ethnology, *18th Annual Report*,
pt. 2, pp. 654-764, *passim*).

1795, Aug. 3—Greenville, Ohio—Wyandot, Ottawa, Chippewa,
Potawatomi—(*Stat. at Large*, VII, 49).

The post of Detroit and all land to the N. W., and S., of it
to which the Indian title had been extinguished by gifts
or grants to the French or English governments, and so
much more land to be annexed to the district of Detroit
as shall be comprehended between the river Rosine on the
S., Lake St. Clair on the N., and a line the general course
whereof shall be 6 miles distant from the W. end of Lake
Erie and Detroit river. The necessity for the establish-
ment of the boundaries of this tract was superseded by
the conclusion of the treaty of Nov. 17, 1807, whereby
the Indians ceded to the U. S. a large extent of territory
surrounding and including within its general limits the
tract described. The approximate limits of this tract are,
however, shown on the map by a dotted line.

1807, Nov. 17—Detroit, Michigan—Wyandot, Ottawa, Chippewa,
Potawatomi—(*Stat. at Large*, VII, 105).

The foregoing tribes cede to the U. S. all claim to the follow-
ing described tract of country, viz: Beginning at the
mouth of the Miami river of the lakes and running thence
up the middle thereof to the mouth of the great Au Glaize
river; thence due N. until it intersects a parallel of latitude
to be drawn from the outlet of Lake Huron which forms
the river Sinclair; thence running NE. the course that may
be found will lead in a direct line to White Rock in Lake
Huron; thence due E. until it intersects the boundary line
between the U. S. and Upper Canada in said lake; thence
southwardly, following the said boundary line, down said
lake through the river Sinclair, Lake St. Clair, and the
river Detroit, into Lake Erie, to a point due E. of the
aforesaid Miami river; thence W. to the place of beginning.

Three miles square on the river Raizin at a place called
Macon, and where the river Macon falls into the river
Raizin, which place is about 14 miles from the mouth of

said river Raizin.—Ceded to the U. S. by treaties of Sept. 29, 1817, and Sept. 19, 1827.

Two sections of 1 square mile each on the river Rouge at Seginsiuwin's village.—Ceded to the U. S. by treaty of Sept. 19, 1827.

Two sections of 1 mile square each at Tonquish's village, near the river Rouge.—Ceded to the U. S. by treaty of Sept. 19, 1827.

Three miles square on Lake St. Clair above the river Huron, to include Machonce's village.

Six sections of 1 mile square each, within the cession aforesaid, in such situations as the said Indians shall elect, subject to the approval of the President of the U. S. as to the places of location.

GENERAL NOTE.—This three mile square tract and 3 of the 6 unlocated sections were surveyed and located by Aaron Greely in 1810, under direction of Governor Hull, as follows: One tract of 262.7 acres on Lake St. Clair at the mouth of the Au Vaseau, which included the site of Machonce's village; one tract of 534 acres on Lake St. Clair above the mouth of Salt creek; one tract of 1,200 acres at the mouth of A. Dulude or Black river, and 5,760 acres at the mouth of Swan creek of Lake St. Clair. These tracts were ceded to the U. S., May 9, 1836. The remaining 3 (of the 6 unlocated sections) had not been specifically located when they were ceded by treaty of Sept. 29, 1817, to the Catholic Church.

1809, Feb. 28—Act of Congress—Wyandot—(*Stat. at Large*, II 527).

The U. S. reserve for the Wyandots, two tracts, not exceeding 5,000 acres, at Brownstown and Maguagua, Michigan territory, provided that if abandoned by them the tracts should revert to the U. S.—These tracts were ceded to the U. S. by treaty of Sept. 20, 1818.

1817, Sept. 29—Foot of the rapids of the Miami of Lake Erie—Wyandot, Ottawa, Chippewa, Potawatomi—(*Stat. at Large*, VII, 160).

The Potawatomy, Ottawa, and Chippewa tribes cede to the U. S. the land within the following boundaries: Beginning where the western line of the State of Ohio crosses the river Miami of Lake Erie, which is about 21 miles above the mouth of the Great Auglaize river; thence down the middle of said Miami river to a point north of the mouth of the Great Auglaize river; thence with the western line

of the land ceded to the U. S. by the treaty of Detroit, in 1807, N. 45 miles; then W. so far that a line S. will strike the place of beginning; thence S. to the place of beginning.

The Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawatomy tribes grant to the rector of the Catholic church of St. Anne, of Detroit, and to the corporations of the college at Detroit, to be retained or sold as they see fit, each one-half of three sections of land on the river Raisin, at a place called Macon; also

Three sections of land not yet located, which tracts were reserved for the use of said Indians by the treaty of Detroit in 1807.—As shown by the language of the treaty, these three sections had not been located, and it was a mere transfer of the right to locate them from the Indians to the Catholic Church.

1818, Sept. 20—St. Mary's, Ohio—Wyandot—(*Stat. at Large*, VII, 180).

The Wyandot tribe cede to the U. S. a tract of land in the territory of Michigan, including the village called Brownstown, reserved to them and their descendants for 50 years by the provisions of an act of Congress passed Feb. 28, 1809.

The Wyandots also cede to the U. S. a tract of land in the territory of Michigan, to include the village called Maguagua, reserved to them and their descendants for 50 years by the provisions of an act of Congress passed Feb. 28, 1809.—This reserve was ceded by treaty of Mar. 17, 1842.

Note.—These two cessions contain in the whole not more than 5,000 acres.

The U. S., in consideration of the foregoing cessions, agree to reserve for the use of the Wyandot Indians sections 23, 24, 25, 26, 34, 35, 36, 27, and that part of section 22 which contains 8 acres and lies on the S. side of the river Huron, being in Tp. 4 S., R. 9 E. of the first meridian in the territory of Michigan and containing 4,996 acres.

1819, Sept. 24—Saginaw, Michigan territory—Chippewa—(*Stat. at Large*, VII, 203).

The Chippewa nation cede to the U. S. the land comprised within the following described boundaries, viz: Beginning at a point in the present Indian boundary line, which runs due N. from the mouth of the great Auglaize river, 6 miles S. of the place where the base line so called intersects the same; thence W. 60 miles; in a direct line to the

head of Thunder Bay river; thence down the same, following the courses thereof to the mouth; thence N. E. to the boundary line between the U. S. and the British Province of Upper Canada; thence with the same to the line established by the treaty of Detroit in 1807; thence with said line to the place of beginning.—This cession is overlapped by the Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawatomi cession of Aug. 29, 1821, and also by the Ottawa and Chippewa cession of Mar. 28, 1836.

From the foregoing general cession the Chippewa nation reserves for future use and occupancy the following described tracts:

One tract of 8,000 acres on the E. side of the river Au Sable, near where the Indians now live.—Ceded to the U. S. by treaty of Jan. 14, 1837; q. v.

One tract of 2,000 acres on the river Mesagwisk.—Ceded to the U. S. by treaty of Jan. 14, 1837.

One tract of 6,000 acres on the N. side of the river Kawkawling at the Indian village.—Ceded to the U. S. by treaty of Jan. 14, 1837.

One tract of 5,760 acres upon the Flint river, to include Reaum's village and a place called Kishkawbawee.—Ceded to the U. S. by treaty of Jan. 14, 1837.

One tract of 8,000 acres on the head of the river Huron which empties into the Saginaw river at the village of Otusson.—Ceded to the U. S. by treaty of Jan. 14, 1837.

One island in the Saginaw Bay.—Ceded to the U. S. by treaty of Jan. 14, 1837.

One tract of 2,000 acres where Nabobask formerly lived.—Ceded to the U. S. by treaty of Jan. 14, 1837.

One tract of 1,000 acres near the island in Saginaw river.—Ceded to the U. S. by treaty of Jan. 14, 1837.

One tract of 640 acres at the bend of the river Huron which empties into the Saginaw river.—Ceded to the U. S. by treaty of Jan. 14, 1837.

One tract of 2,000 acres at the mouth of Point Augrais river.—Ceded to the U. S. by treaty of Jan. 14, 1837.

One tract of 1,000 acres on the river Huron, at Menoquet's village.—Ceded to the U. S. by treaty of Jan. 14, 1837.

One tract of 10,000 acres on the Shawassee river, at a place called the Big Rock.—Ceded to the U. S. by treaty of Jan. 14, 1837.

One tract of 3,000 acres on the Shawassee river at Ketchewaundaugenink.—Ceded to the U. S. by treaty of Jan. 14, 1837. This tract was at the date of this treaty supposed to lie within the limits of the general cession made by article 1, and was reserved on that theory. It was subsequently ascertained, however, that it was within the limits of the previous cession by the treaty of Nov. 17, 1807. It is therefore considered as a "grant" to the Indians from the U. S.

One tract of 6,000 acres at the Little Forks on the Tetabawasink river.—Ceded to the U. S. by treaty of Jan. 14, 1837.

One tract of 6,000 acres at the Black Bird's town on the Tetabawasink river.—Ceded to the U. S. by treaty of Jan. 14, 1837.

One tract of 40,000 acres on the W. side of Saginaw river, to be hereafter located.—Ceded to the U. S. by treaty of Jan. 14, 1837.

1821, Aug. 29—Chicago, Illinois—Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawatami—(*Stat. at Large*, VII, 218).

The foregoing nations of Indians cede to the U. S. the land comprehended within the following boundaries: Beginning at a point on the S. bank of the river St. Joseph of Lake Michigan near the Parcaux Vaches, due N. from Rum's village, and running thence S. to a line drawn due E. from the southern extreme of Lake Michigan; thence with the said line E. to the tract ceded by the Pattiwatimies to the U. S. by the treaty of Fort Meigs in 1817 if the said line should strike said tract, but if the said line should pass N. of the said tract, then such line shall be continued until it strikes the western boundary of the tract ceded to the U. S. by treaty of Detroit in 1807, and from the termination of the said line, following the boundaries of former cessions, to the main branch of the Grand river of Lake Michigan, should any of the said lines cross the said river, but if none of the said lines should cross the said river, then to a point due E. of the source of the said main branch of the said river, and from such point due W. to the source of the said principal branch, and from the crossing of the said river or from the source thereof, as the case may be, down the said river on the N. bank thereof to the mouth; thence following the shore of Lake Michigan to the S. bank of the said river St. Joseph at the mouth thereof and thence with the said S. bank to the place of

beginning.—This cession overlaps the tract ceded by the Chippewa by treaty of Sept. 24, 1819.

From the foregoing cession the said Indians reserve for their use the following tracts, viz:

One tract at Mang-ach-qua village, on the river Peble, of 6 miles square.—This reserve was ceded to the U. S. by treaty of Sept. 19, 1827. The boundaries were never ascertained.

One tract at Mick-ke-saw-be of 6 miles square.—This reserve was ceded to the U. S. by treaty of Sept. 19, 1827.

One tract at the village of Na-to-wa-se-pe of 4 miles square.—This reserve was ceded to the U. S. by treaty of Sept. 27, 1833.

One tract at the village of Prairie Ronde of 3 miles square.—This reserve was ceded to the U. S. by treaty of Sept. 19, 1827.

One tract at the village of Match-e-be-narh-she-wish, at the head of the Kekalamazoo river.—This reserve was ceded to the U. S. by treaty of Sept. 19, 1827.

The U. S. grants from above cession 26 sections of land to individuals of Indian descent.

1827, Sept. 19—St. Joseph, Michigan territory—Potawatomi—(*Stat. at Large*, VII, 305).

In order to consolidate some of the dispersed bands of the Pottawatamie tribe in the Territory of Michigan at a point removed from the road leading from Detroit to Chicago and as far as practicable from the settlements of the whites, it is agreed that the following tracts of land heretofore reserved for the use of said tribe shall be ceded to the U. S., viz:

Two sections on the river Rouge at Seginsairn's village.
—The Chippewa of Saginaw, by treaty of Jan. 14, 1837, ceded any claim they were supposed to have in this reserve.

Two sections at Tonguish's village near the river Rouge.
—The Chippewa of Saginaw, by treaty of Jan. 14, 1837, ceded any claim they were supposed to have in this reserve.

That part of the reservation at Macon on the river Raisin, which yet belongs to the said tribe, containing 6 sections, excepting therefrom one-half section where the Pottawatamie Chief Moran resides, which shall be reserved for his use.

A tract at Mang-ach-qua village on the river Peble, of 6 miles square.—Boundaries never ascertained.

A tract at Mickesawbe of 6 miles square.

A tract at the village of Prairie Ronde of 3 miles square.

A tract at the village of Match-e-be-nash-she-wish at the head of the Kekalamazoo river of 3 miles square.

In consideration of the foregoing cessions the U. S. agree to reserve for the use of said tribe a tract containing 99 sections, (Ceded to the U. S. by treaty of Sept. 27, 1833), as follows:

Sections 5, 6, 7, and 8 in T. 5 S., R. 9 W., in the territory of Michigan.

All of T. 5 S., R. 10 W., not already included in the Nottawa Sape reservation.

Sections 1, 2, 11, 12, 13, 14, 23, 24, 25, 26, 35, and 36 in T. 5 S., R. 11 W.

All of T. 4 S., R. 9 W.

Sections 8, 17, 18, 19, 20, 29, 30, 31, and 32 in T. 4 S., R. 9 W.—This is given as R. 9 W. in the published treaty, but it should be 10 W.

Sections 1, 2, 11, 12, 13, 14, 23, 24, 25, 26, 35, and 36 in T. 4 S., R. 11 W.

1828, Sept. 20—Missionary establishments upon the St. Joseph of Lake Michigan, in Michigan territory—Potawatomi—(*Stat. at Large*, VII, 317).

The Potawatamie tribe of Indians cede to the U. S. the tracts of land included within the following boundaries:

Beginning at the mouth of the St. Joseph of Lake Michigan, and thence running up the said river to a point on the said river half-way between La-vache-qui-pisse and Macousin village; thence in a direct line to the nineteenth-mile tree on the northern boundary line of the State of Indiana; thence with the same west to Lake Michigan; and thence with the shore of the said lake to the place of beginning.

1832, Oct. 27—Tippecanoe river, Indiana—Potawatomi of Indiana and Michigan—(*Stat. at Large*, VII, 399).

The Potowatomies cede to the U. S. their title and interest to lands in the States of Indiana and Illinois and in the Territory of Michigan S. of Grand river.

From the foregoing cession the following reservations are made, viz:

The reservation at Po-ca-gan's village for his band.—Ceded to the U. S. by treaty of Sept. 27, 1833.

A reservation for such of the Potowatomies as are resident at the village of Notta-we-sipa, agreeably to the treaties of Sept. 19, 1827, and Sept. 20, 1828.—Ceded to the U. S. by treaty of Sept. 27, 1833.

1833, Sept. 27—Chicago, Illinois—Chippewa, Ottawa and Potawatomi—(*Stat. at Large*, VII, 442).

The said Indians cede to the U. S. all their lands situate in the territory of Michigan S. of Grand river, being the reservation at Notawasepe, of 4 miles square, contained in the third clause of the second article of the treaty made at Chicago on Aug. 29, 1821.

The said Indians further cede the reservation of 99 sections of land described in the treaty made at St. Joseph on Sept. 19, 1827.

The said Indians also cede to the U. S. the tract of land on St. Joseph river opposite the town of Niles, and extending to the line of the state of Indiana, on which the villages of To-pe-ne-bee and Pokagon are situated, supposed to contain about 49 sections.

1836, Mar. 28—Washington, D. C.—Ottawa and Chippewa—(*Stat. at Large*, VII, 491).

The Ottawa and Chippewa nations of Indians cede to the U. S. all the tract of country within the following boundaries: Beginning at the mouth of Grand river of Lake Michigan on the N. bank thereof and following up the same to the line called for in the first article of the treaty of Chicago of Aug. 29, 1821; thence in a direct line to the head of Thunder Bay river; thence with the line established by the treaty of Saganaw of Sept. 24, 1819, to the mouth of said river; thence NE. to the boundary line in Lake Huron between the U. S. and the British province of Upper Canada; thence northwestwardly following the said line as established by the commissioners acting under the treaty of Ghent, through the straits, and river St. Mary's to a point in Lake Superior N. of the mouth of Gitchy Seebing or Chocolate river; thence S. to the mouth of said river and up its channel to the source thereof; thence in a direct line to the head of the Skonawba river of Green bay; thence down the S. bank of said river to its mouth; thence in a direct line through the ship channel into Green bay to the outer part thereof; thence S. to a point in Lake Michigan W. of the North cape or entrance of Grand river, and thence E. to the place of beginning at the cape aforesaid, comprehending all the lands and islands within

these limits not hereinafter reserved.—This cession overlaps the Chippewa cession by treaty of Sept. 24, 1819.

From the foregoing cession said tribes reserve for their own use, to be held in common, the following tracts for the term of five years and no longer except by permission of the U. S.:

One tract of 50,000 acres to be located on Little Traverse bay.—The general note below applies to this reserve.

One tract of 20,000 acres to be located on the N. shore of Grand Traverse bay.—Surveyed in 1840. It comprised fractional Tps. 28, 29, and 30 N., R. 10 W., and continued to be occupied as an Indian reservation until the reserves contemplated by treaty of July 31, 1855, were designated.

One tract of 70,000 acres to be located on or N. of the Piere Marquette river. Surveyed in 1840 on Manistee river and occupied as a reservation until 1848, when it was sold.

One tract of 1,000 acres to be located by Chingassanoo or the Big Sail, on the Cheboigan.

One tract of 1,000 acres to be located by Mujeekewis, on Thunder Bay river.

GENERAL NOTE.—After the selection by Mr. Schoolcraft of the 20,000 and 70,000 acre reserves under this treaty, he was advised that the U. S. might conclude to allow the Indians to remain on the other reserves after the expiration of the five years. He was therefore instructed, Nov. 5, 1840, that the boundaries of all the reserves under this treaty ought to be marked. Aug. 23, 1844, the Indian office advised the General Land Office that these reserves ought not to be surveyed as public lands, the Indians having been tacitly allowed to remain thereon since the treaty. In 1845 the assent of the Indians was obtained for the extension of the public surveys over these reserves, but no definite boundaries were marked out for them. As late as June 7, 1850, the Indian Office notified the General Land Office that the Indians still occupied these tracts and the latter must not be offered for sale as public lands. This state of affairs, in fact, continued until other provision was made by the treaty of 1855.

1836, May 9—Washington D. C.—Swan creek and Black river bands of the Chippewa nation residing in Michigan—(*Stat. at Large*, VII, 503).

The Swan-creek and Black-river bands of Chippewas cede to the U. S. the following tracts, reserved for them by treaty of Nov. 17, 1807, viz:

One tract of 3 miles square, or 5,760 acres, on Swan creek, of Lake St. Clair.

One tract of $1\frac{3}{4}$ sections near Salt creek of said lake.—This tract really contained only 534 acres. See remarks under treaty of Nov. 17, 1807.

One tract of one-fourth of a section at the mouth of the river Au Vaseau, contiguous to the preceding cession. This tract really contained 262.7 acres. See remarks under treaty of Nov. 17, 1807.

One tract of 2 sections near the mouth of Black river, of the River St. Clair.—This tract really contained only 1,200 acres. See remarks under treaty of Nov. 17, 1807.

1837, Jan. 14—Detroit, Michigan—Saginaw tribe of the Chippewa nation—(*Stat. at Large*, VII, 528).

The said tribe cede to the U. S. the following tracts of land lying within the boundaries of Michigan, viz:

One tract of 8,000 acres on the river Au Sable.—When the public surveys were extended over this region, there were no Indians living on this tract, and, the surveyors having no one to point out to them the desired limits of the reserve, it was never surveyed as an Indian reserve.

One tract of 2,000 acres on the Misho-wusk or Rifle river. The Indians reserved a right of residence on this tract for five years.

One tract of 6,000 acres on the N. side of the river Kawkawling.

One tract of 5,760 acres upon Flint river, including the site of Reaum's village and a place called Kishkaw-bawee.

One tract of 8,000 acres on the head of the Cass (formerly Huron) river, at the village of Otusson.

One island in the Saginaw bay, estimated at 1,000 acres, being the island called Shaingwaukokaug, on which Mukokoosh formerly lived.

One tract of 2,000 acres at Nababish on the Saganaw river.

One tract of 1,000 acres on the E. side of the Saganaw river.

One tract of 640 acres at Great Bend on Cass river.

One tract of 2,000 acres at the mouth of Point Augrais river.—The Indians reserved a right of residence on this tract for five years.

One tract of 1,000 acres on the Cass river at Menoquet's village.

One tract of 10,000 acres on the Shiawassee river at Ketchewaundaugumink or Big Lick.—See note concerning this tract under treaty of Sept. 24, 1819. An error was made in copying the treaty whereby this reserve became confused with the one at Big Rock. The intention was to cede both the 3,000 acre tract at Ketchewaundaugumink or Big Lick and the 10,000 acre tract at Big Rock. The language of the treaty cedes "10,000 acres on Shiawassee river, at Ketchewaundaugumink or Big Lick." To correct this error a supplemental article to the treaty was concluded Oct. 27, 1841.

One tract of 6,000 acres at the Little Forks on the Tetabwasing river.

One tract of 6,000 acres at the Black Bird's town on the Tetabwasing river.

One tract of 40,000 acres on the W. side of the Saganaw river.

One tract of 10,000 acres at Big Rock on Shiawassee river.—See note concerning this tract given in No. 12 or 3,000 acre reserve at Ketchewaundaugumink or Big Lick.

The said Indians shall have the right of living upon the tracts at the river Augrais and Musho-wusk or Rifle rivers on the W. side of Saganaw bay, for the term of five years, during which time no white man shall be allowed to settle on said tracts under a penalty of \$500.

The said tribe agrees to remove from the state of Michigan as soon as a proper location can be obtained, either W. of lake Superior or at such place W. of the Mississippi and S. W. of the Missouri river as the legislation of Congress may indicate.—By treaty of Dec. 20, 1837, a reserve was promised this tribe on Osage river, but they declined to remove thereto, and no tract was therefore surveyed for them.

The U. S. agree to pay to said tribe as one of the parties to the treaty of Nov. 17, 1807, the sum of \$1,000 to quiet their claim to two reservations of land of 2 sections each, lying in Oakland County, Mich., which were ceded to the U. S. by the Pottowattomies of St. Joseph's on Sept. 19, 1827.—See treaty of Sept. 19, 1827.

COUNTIES OF SOUTHERN MICHIGAN WHICH HAD SETTLERS WHEN MICHIGAN WAS ADMITTED TO THE UNION (1837)

Original area of county same as now, unless otherwise given; references are to *Territorial Laws* (ed. 1874) and to the volumes of Session Laws published in the respective years.

Counties.	Established.	To what counties attached and when.	When organized.	Population.	Remarks.
Allegan.....	Mar. 2, 1831 <i>T. L. III, 871</i>	Kalamazoo, 1833	Aug. 25, 1835 <i>T. L. IV, 136</i>	1834—? 1837—1469 1840—1783	Original area had one more range of townships on the west than has the present area.
Barry.....	Oct. 29, 1829 <i>T. L. II, 735</i>	St. Joseph, 1829 Kalamazoo, 1830	Mar. 15, 1839 <i>S. L. 17</i>	1834—? 1837—512 1840—1078	
Berrien.....	Oct. 29, 1829 <i>T. L. II, 737</i>	Cass, 1829	Mar. 4, 1831 <i>T. L. III, 902</i>	1834—1787 1837—4563 1840—5011	
				No returns for Paw Paw and Benton twps. in the census of 1837.	
Branch.....	Oct. 29, 1829 <i>T. L. II, 736</i>	St. Joseph, 1829	Feb. 1, 1833 <i>T. L. III, 977</i>	1834—764 1837—4016 1840—5715	A law of Nov. 5, 1829 (<i>T. L. II, 787</i>) provided that the "counties of Branch, Calhoun and Eaton, and all the country lying north of the county of Eaton, which are attached to and compose a part of the county of St. Joseph, shall form a township by the name of Green."

COUNTIES OF SOUTHERN MICHIGAN.—Con.

Counties.	Established.	To what counties attached and when.	When organized.	Population.	Remarks.
Calhoun.....	Oct. 29, 1829 <i>T. L. II, 736</i>	St. Joseph, 1829 Kalamazoo, 1830	Mar. 6, 1833 <i>T. L. III, 984</i>	1834—1714 1837—7959 1840—5710	
Cass.....	Oct. 29, 1829 <i>T. L. II, 737</i>		Nov. 4, 1829 <i>T. L. II, 744</i>	1834—3280 1837—5296 1840—5710	
Clinton.....	Mar. 2, 1831 <i>T. L. III, 871</i>	Kent, Shiawassee, 1837	Mar. 12, 1839 <i>S. L. 15</i>	1834—? 1837—529 1840—1614	
Eaton.....	Oct. 29, 1829 <i>T. L. II, 735</i>	St. Joseph, 1829 Kalamazoo, 1830	Dec. 29, 1837 <i>S. L. 9</i>	1834—? 1837—913 1840—2379	
Genesee.....	Mar. 28, 1835 <i>T. L. III, 1416</i>	Oakland, 1835	Mar. 8, 1836 <i>S. L. 66</i>	1834—? 1837—2754 1840—4268	The present eastern range of townships was added from Lapeer County Mar. 9, 1843 (<i>S. L. 189</i>).
Hillsdale.....	Oct. 29, 1829 <i>T. L. 736</i>	Lenawee, 1829	Feb. 11, 1835 <i>T. L. III, 1362</i>	1834—? 1837—4749 1840—7240	
Ingham.....	Oct. 29, 1829 <i>T. L. II, 735</i>	Washtenaw, 1829	Apr. 5, 1838 <i>S. L. 221</i>	1834—? 1837—822 1840—2498	
Ionia.....	Mar. 2, 1831 <i>T. L. III, 871</i>	Kent, 1836	Mar. 18, 1837 <i>S. L. 97</i>	1834—? 1837—1028 1840—1923	
Jackson.....	Oct. 29, 1829 <i>T. L. II, 735</i>	Washtenaw, 1829	June 26, 1832 <i>T. L. III, 929</i>	1834—1865 1837—8702 1840—13130	

Kalamazoo.....	Oct. 29, 1829 <i>T. L. II, 736</i>	St. Joseph,	1829	July 30, 1830 <i>T. L. III, 836</i>	1834—3124 1837—6367 1840—7380	The present two northern tiers of townships were added April 1, 1840 (<i>S. L. 196</i>).
Kent.....	Mar. 2, 1831 <i>T. L. III, 871</i>			Mar. 24, 1836 <i>S. L. 65</i>	1834—? 1837—2022 1840—2587	Original area extensive; reduced by organization of adjoining counties; the last reduction was made March 9, 1843 by detaching the present eastern townships of Genesee County (<i>S. L. 189</i>).
Lapeer.....	Sept. 10, 1822 <i>T. L. I, 333</i>	Oakland,	1822	June 20, 1835 <i>T. L. III, 1348</i>	1834—? 1837—2802 1840—4265	
					In the census of 1837, one township was not returned.	
Lenawee.....	Sept. 10, 1822 <i>T. L. I, 335</i>	Monroe,	1822	Nov. 20, 1826 <i>T. L. II, 992</i>	1834—7911 1837—14540 1840—17889	Originally extended south over an area disputed with Ohio.
Livingston.....	Mar. 21, 1833 <i>T. L. III, 993</i>	Washtenaw,	1833	Mar. 24, 1836 <i>S. L. 65</i>	1834—? 1837—5029 1840—7430	
Macomb.....	Jan. 15, 1818 <i>T. L. II, 796</i> By proclamation of Gov. Cass			Jan. 15, 1818 <i>T. L. II, 796</i>	1834—6055 1837—8892 1840—9716	Original area extensive; reduced Sept. 10, 1822 (<i>T. L. I, 332</i>) to present boundaries June 22, 1832 (<i>T. L. III, 926</i>).
Monroe.....	July 14, 1817 <i>T. L. II, 792</i> By proclamation of Gov. Cass			July 14, 1817 <i>T. L. II, 792</i>	1834—8542 1837—10646 1840—9922	Original area extensive; reduced to present boundaries Sept. 10, 1822. (<i>T. L. I, 331</i>).
Oakland.....	Jan. 12, 1819 <i>T. L. II, 798</i> By proclamation of Gov. Cass			Mar. 28, 1820 Act in effect Jan. 1, 1822	1834—13844 1837—20176 1840—23646	Original area extensive; reduced to present boundaries Sept. 10, 1822 (<i>T. L. I, 332</i>).
Ottawa.....	Mar. 2, 1831 <i>T. L. III, 871</i>	Kent,	1836	Dec. 29, 1837 <i>S. L. 9</i>	1834—? 1837—628 1840—208	Original area contained the two southern tiers of townships of Muskegon County.

COUNTIES OF SOUTHERN MICHIGAN.—Con.

Counties.	Established.	To what counties attached and when.	When organized.	Population.	Remarks.
Saginaw.....	Sept. 10, 1822 <i>T. L. I, 334</i>	Oakland,	Jan. 28, 1835 <i>T. L. III, 1359</i>	1834—? 1837—920 1840—892	Reduced to present area Mar. 2, 1831 (<i>T. L. III, 872</i>).
Shiawassee.....	Sept. 10, 1822 <i>T. L. I, 334</i>	Oakland, Genesee,	Mar. 18, 1837 <i>S. L. 106</i>	1834—? 1837—1184 1840—2103	
St. Clair.....	Mar. 28, 1820 <i>T. L. II, 800</i> By proclamation of Gov. Cass		May 8, 1821 and Sept. 10, 1822 <i>T. L. I, 332</i>	1834—2244 1837—6337 1840—4606	Original area extensive; reduced Sept. 10, 1822 (<i>T. L. I, 352</i>); to present boundaries April 3, 1848 (<i>S. L. 344</i>).
St. Joseph.....	Oct. 29, 1829 <i>T. L. II, 736</i>		Nov. 4, 1829 <i>T. L. III, 744</i>	1834—3168 1837—6337 1840—7068	
Van Buren.....	Oct. 29, 1829 <i>T. L. II, 736</i>		Mar. 18, 1837 <i>S. L. 97</i>	1834—? 1837—1262 1840—1910	
Washtenaw.....	Sept. 10, 1822 <i>T. L. I, 334</i>	Wayne,	Nov. 20, 1826 <i>T. L. II, 292</i>	1834—14920 1837—21817 1840—23571	Original area reduced on the west Oct. 29, 1829 (<i>T. L. II, 735</i>); reduced on the north March 21, 1833 (<i>T. L. III, 993</i>).
Wayne.....	Aug. 15, 1796 By proclamation of Acting Gov. Sargent		Nov. 21, 1815 By proclamation of Gov. Cass	1834—16638 1837—23400 1840—24173	Original area included all of the lower peninsula and parts of Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin and the upper peninsula; area changed May 7, and July 10, 1800; April 30, 1802; Jan. 14, 1803; Jan. 11, 1805; Nov. 21, 1815; Oct. 18, 1816; July 14, 1817; Jan. 15, 1818; reduced to present area Sept. 10, 1822.

D

CENSUSES OF MICHIGAN TERRITORY

United States Census of Michigan Territory, 1830
(Abstract in *House Document* No. 263, 1st sess. 22d Cong.)

County.	Aggregate.	Free.	Slaves.
Berrien.....	325	325	0
Brown.....	1,356	1,354	2
Cass.....	919	919	0
Chippewa.....	626	626	0
Crawford.....	692	686	6
Iowa.....	1,587	1,564	23
Lenawee.....	1,491	1,491	0
Macomb.....	2,413	2,413	0
Michilimackinac.....	877	877	0
Monroe.....	3,187	3,187	0
Oakland.....	4,912	4,911	1
St. Clair.....	1,114	1,114	0
St. Joseph.....	1,313	1,313	0
Van Buren.....	5	5	0
Washtenaw.....	4,042	4,042	0
Wayne.....	6,781	6,781	0
Total.....	31,640	31,608	32

Free—White males.....	18,168	
White females.....	13,178	
Total whites.....		31,346
Colored males.....	159	
Colored females.....	103	
Total free colored.....		262
Total free.....		31,608
Slaves—Males.....	22	
Females.....	10	
Total slaves.....		32
Total population of Michigan Territory.....		31,640

Territorial Census of Michigan, 1834
(Blois, *Gazetteer of Michigan*, p. 151)

Berrien.....	1,787
Branch.....	764
Calhoun.....	1,714
Cass.....	3,280
Chippewa.....	526

Jackson.....	1,865
Kalamazoo.....	3,124
Lenawee.....	7,911
Mackinac.....	891
Macomb.....	6,055
Monroe.....	8,542
Oakland.....	13,844
St. Clair.....	2,244
St. Joseph.....	3,168
Washtenaw.....	14,920
Wayne.....	16,638

State Census of Michigan, 1837
(*Legislative Manual* (1838), pp. 70-74)

ALLEGAN:			
Allegan.....	621	Otsego.....	341
Newark.....	190	Plainfield.....	317
Total.....			1469
BARRY:			
Barry.....	512		
Total.....			512
BERRIEN:			
Bainbridge.....	99	Niles.....	1497
Berrien.....	496	Oronoko.....	248
Bertrand.....	1262	Royalton.....	175
Buchanan.....	172	St. Joseph.....	599
New Buffalo.....	199	Weesaw.....	116
Total.....			4863
BRANCH:			
Batavia.....	357	Gilead.....	184
Bronson.....	635	Ovid.....	209
Coldwater.....	960	Quincy.....	569
Elizabeth.....	177	Sherwood.....	217
Gerard.....	448	Union.....	260
Total.....			4016
CALHOUN:			
Albion.....	773	Marengo.....	737
Athens.....	288	Marshall.....	1801
Burlington.....	378	Milton.....	1632
Convis.....	170	Sheridan.....	353
Eckford.....	530	Tekonsha.....	278
Hoier.....	1019	Total.....	
Total.....			7959
CASS:			
Calvin.....	201	Penn.....	693
Howard.....	366	Pokagon.....	506
Jefferson.....	395	Porter.....	442
Lagrange.....	699	Silver Creek.....	108
Mason.....	224	Volinia.....	427
Ontwa.....	1012	Wayne.....	223
Total.....			5296
CHIPPEWA:			
Ste. Marie.....	366		
Total.....			366

APPENDIX

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CLINTON:			
No returns for townships.			
Total.....	529		
EATON:			
Bellevue.....	438	Vermontville.....	145
Eaton.....	330	Total.....	913
GENESEE:			
Argentine.....	434	Mundy.....	234
Flint.....	1288	Vienna.....	107
Grand Blanc.....	691	Total.....	2754
HILLSDALE:			
Adams.....	279	Pittsford.....	550
Allen.....	353	Reading.....	277
Fayette.....	685	Scipio.....	469
Florida.....	156	Somerset.....	441
Litchfield.....	314	Wheatland.....	729
Moscow.....	496	Total.....	4749
INGHAM:			
No returns for townships.			
Total.....	822		
IONIA:			
Ionia.....	511	Maple.....	517
		Total.....	1028
JACKSON:			
No returns for townships.			
Total.....	8702		
KALAMAZOO:			
Brady.....	1292	Pavilion.....	548
Comstock.....	1383	Prairie Ronde.....	665
Cooper.....	386	Richland.....	720
Kalamazoo.....	1373	Total.....	6367
KENT:			
Byron ¹	362	Kent.....	1660
		Total.....	2022
LAPEER:			
No returns for townships.			
Total ²	2602		
LENAWEE:			
Blissfield.....	559	Medina.....	420
Cambridge.....	523	Ogden.....	198
Dover.....	680	Palmyra.....	898
Fairfield.....	203	Raisin.....	1076
Franklin.....	989	Rollin.....	508
Hudson.....		Rome.....	826
Lenawee.....	1151	Seneca.....	431
Logan.....	1962	Tecumseh.....	2464
Macon.....	1111	Woodstock.....	541
		Total ³	14540
LIVINGSTON:			
Byron.....	317	Hartland.....	404
Deerfield.....	369	Howell.....	442
Genoa.....	361	Marion.....	202
Green Oak.....	1435	Putnam.....	367
Hamburg.....	490	Unadilla.....	642
		Total.....	5029

MACKINAC:			
Holmes.....	664		
Total.....	664		
MACOMB:			
Armada.....	1001	Lenox.....	234
Bruce.....	889	Macomb.....	736
Clinton.....	1193	Orange.....	297
Harrison.....	502	Ray.....	786
Hickory.....	249	Shelby.....	1153
Jefferson.....	523	Washington.....	1329
		Total.....	8892
MONROE:			
Ash.....	1011	London.....	456
Bedford.....	431	Milan.....	270
Erie.....	999	Monroe.....	2795
Exeter.....	156	Raisinville.....	614
Frenchtown.....	1503	Summerfield.....	1128
Ida.....	200	Whiteford.....	257
Lasalle.....	826		
		Total.....	10646
OAKLAND:			
Addison.....	343	Oakland.....	803
Avon.....	1289	Orion.....	593
Bloomfield.....	1485	Oxford.....	384
Brandon.....	263	Pontiac.....	1700
Commerce.....	747	Rose.....	202
Farmington.....	1724	Royal Oak.....	825
Groveland.....	664	Southfield.....	956
Highland.....	440	Springfield.....	403
Independence.....	668	Troy.....	1439
Lyon.....	1051	Waterford.....	828
Milford.....	667	West Bloomfield.....	1004
Novi.....	1335	White Lake.....	363
		Total.....	20176
OTTAWA:			
No returns for townships.			
Total.....	628		
SAGINAW:			
Saginaw.....	920		
Total.....	920		
ST. CLAIR:			
China.....	603	Ira.....	202
Clay.....	394	Lexington.....	205
Clyde.....	339	Port Huron.....	824
Columbus.....	85	St. Clair.....	501
Cottrelville.....	520		
		Total.....	3673
ST. JOSEPH:			
Bucks.....	782	Leonidas.....	374
Colon.....	368	Mottville.....	497
Constantine.....	842	Nottawa.....	713
Florence.....	440	Sherman.....	1043
Flowerfield.....	406	White Pigeon.....	872
		Total.....	6337
SHIAWASSEE:			
No returns for townships.			
Total.....	1184		

APPENDIX

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VAN BUREN:

Antwerp.....	232	Lafayette.....	248
Clinch.....	108	Lawrence.....	202
Covington.....	183	South Haven.....	65
Decatur.....	224		
		Total.....	1262

WASHTENAW:

Ann Arbor.....	2944	Pitt.....	1208
Augusta.....	559	Salem.....	1354
Bridgewater.....	923	Saline.....	1130
Dexter.....	596	Scio.....	1442
Freedom.....	795	Sharon.....	782
Lima.....	895	Superior.....	1378
Lodi.....	1063	Sylvan.....	480
Lyndon.....	361	York.....	1197
Manchester.....	805	Ypsilanti.....	2280
Northfield.....	793	Webster.....	832
		Total.....	21817

WAYNE:

Brownstown.....	846	Livonia.....	1076
Canton.....	1050	Monguagon.....	404
Dearborn.....	1317	Nankin.....	1160
Detroit.....	8273	Plymouth.....	2246
Ecorse.....	709	Redford.....	1021
Greenfield.....	897	Romulus.....	389
Hamtramck.....	1772	Springwells.....	960
Huron.....	481	Van Buren.....	799
		Total.....	23400

Colored Population.

Calhoun.....	24	Wayne.....	228
Chippewa.....	3	Jackson.....	9
Mackinac.....	1	Monroe.....	35
St. Joseph.....	4	Oakland.....	13
Washtenaw.....	62		
		Total.....	379

Indians Taxed.

Cass.....	24	Genesee.....	2
Chippewa.....	1		
		Total.....	27

1. Part of this township was in Ottawa County.
2. Exclusive of the township of Richfield.
3. Exclusive of the township of Hudson.

E

APPORTIONMENT OF TAXES TO BE RAISED FOR STATE PURPOSES FOR
THE YEAR 1837, CALCULATED FROM THE ASSESSMENT RETURNS
OF 1836 MADE BY THE SUPERVISORS AND TREASURERS OF
EIGHTEEN COUNTIES, AND THE RESIDUE FROM THE
RETURNS OF 1837.

(*Senate Documents*, 1838, pp. 141-142)

Counties.	Square miles.	Apportion- ment of taxes.
*Allegan.....	840	\$2,735
Berrien.....	578	2,356
Branch.....	528	534
Cass.....	528	1,231
Calhoun.....	720	1,368
Genesee.....	504	482
Hillsdale.....	576	932
*Ionia.....	576	1,849
Jackson.....	720	944
Kalamazoo.....	576	1,537
Kent.....	576	1,374
Lapeer.....	828	150
*Lenawee.....	735	3,145
Livingston.....	576	325
*Mackinac.....	27,684	191
Macomb.....	458	1,065
*Monroe.....	532	4,304
Oakland.....	900	1,940
*Saginaw.....	1,021	2,279
*Shiawassee.....	544	2,076
St. Clair.....	935	808
St. Joseph.....	528	917
Washtenaw.....	720	2,532
Wayne.....	600	10,852
Total.....	42,783	\$45,926

* Taxes for the counties starred were calculated from the assessment returns for 1837. No taxes were assessed for counties not named.

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- TURNER, F. J. *Rise of the New West, 1819-1829*. (American Nation Series). New York and London, 1906. The most scholarly brief account of these ten years. Contains a good general bibliography.
- WARDEN, DAVID BAILLIE. *A Statistical, political and historical Account of the U. S. of N. A.; from the period of their first Colonization to the Present Day*. 3 vols., Edinburgh, 1819.
- WILLIAMS, SAMUEL. *Sketches of the War between the United States and the British Isles: intended as a faithful History of all material Events from the Time of the Declaration in 1812 to and including the Treaty of Peace in 1815*. Rutland, Vermont, 1815.
- WINCHELL, ALEXANDER. *The Climate of Michigan*. (In *Tenth Annual Report of the Secretary of the State Horticultural Society of Michigan*, 1880, pp. 155-163). Lansing, 1881.
- WINCHELL, ALEXANDER. *The Soils and Subsoils of Michigan*, (In *Three Lectures delivered before the Michigan State Agricultural Society [etc.]*). Lansing, 1865.
- WINCHELL, ALEXANDER. *Topography and Hydrography [of Michigan]*. In Tackabury's *Atlas of Michigan*, Detroit, 1873, pp. 9-14.

BIOGRAPHIES AND BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

- McLAUGHLIN, ANDREW C. *Lewis Cass*. Boston, 1891. Very valuable for the whole period of Michigan Territory, but especially from 1813 to 1831. Cass was governor of the Territory in those years, and zealously promoted settlement.
- SMITH, W. L. G. *The Life and Times of Lewis Cass*. New York, 1856. Contains original material for the Cass expedition of 1820.
- YOUNG, WM. T. *Sketch of the Life and Public Services of General Lewis Cass* [etc.]. Detroit, 1852.
- Early History of Michigan with biographies of State officers, members of congress, judges and legislators*. Lansing, 1888. The most useful list of biographies covering its period. Compiled by authority of the legislature. The introduction gives items of interest for early settlement.
- CHAPMAN BROTHERS, Chicago (publishers). Branch County, 1888; Genesee County, 1892; Hillsdale County, 1888; Ingham and Livingston Counties, 1891; Ionia and Montcalm Counties, 1891; Jackson County, 1890; Kalamazoo, Allegan and Van Buren Counties, 1892; Lenawee County, 1888; Oakland County, 1891.
- BIOGRAPHICAL PUBLISHING Co., Chicago (publishers). Berrien and Cass Counties, 1893; Muskegon and Ottawa Counties, 1893; Oakland County, 1903; Saginaw and Bay Counties, 1892; Washtenaw County, 1891.
- A. W. BOWEN AND Co., Logansport, Indiana (publishers). Kent County, 1900. Emphasis on Grand Rapids.
- KNAPP, J. I. and BONNER, R. I. *Illustrated History and Biographical Record of Lenawee County*. Adrian, Michigan, 1903.
- WHITNEY, W. A. and BONNER, I. A. *Historical and Biographical Record of Lenawee County*. 2 vols., Adrian, Michigan, 1879-1880.

HISTORIES OF MICHIGAN

- CAMPBELL, JAMES V. *Outlines of the Political History of Michigan*. Detroit, 1876.
- COOLEY, THOMAS M. *Michigan, a History of Governments*. Boston, and N. Y., 1905. The best general account of the history of Michigan. Much general information about settlements given.
- FARMER, SILAS. *The History of Detroit and Michigan* [etc.]. 2 vols., Detroit, 1884. 2nd ed. 1890; slightly enlarged to include events to date. A very full and accurate account of Michigan

Territory. The second volume is entirely biographical. The first volume contains in the text many references to the sources, especially to contemporary newspapers.

LANMAN, JAMES H. *History of Michigan, Civil and Topographical, in a Compendious Form; with a View of the Surrounding Lakes. With a Map.* New York, 1839. The author was a Michigan pioneer, contemporary with the latter part of this period. Especially valuable for contemporary physiographic conditions of settlement.

SHELDON (MRS.) E. M. *The Early History of Michigan, from the first Settlement to 1815.* New York, 1856. Mainly on the French period. Useful for settlement about Detroit from 1805 to 1815.

UTLEY, HENRY M., CUTCHEON, BYRON M. and BURTON, CLARENCE M. *Michigan as a Province, Territory and State, the Twenty-Sixth Member of the Federal Union.* New York, 1906.

COUNTY AND OTHER LOCAL HISTORIES

Interest in systematically collecting and publishing the records of Michigan's local history appears to have begun about the time of the centennial of 1876. The material for the first volume of the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections* was compiled in 1874-1876, and published in 1877. The opportunity for county histories afforded by this impulse was seized by three Philadelphia firms, L. H. Everts and Co., Everts and Abbott, and D. W. Ensign and Co., and a little later by Chicago firms, principally C. C. Chapman and Co. The wave of interest lasted from 1877 to about 1882, and resulted in the production of almost an even score of volumes for the counties south of Saginaw Bay. It is noteworthy that among these the older counties of Wayne and Monroe were not represented. The first county histories were those of Oakland, Calhoun, and St. Joseph counties. They were exceptionally full in pertinent details for early settlement, and the same may be said of those for Branch, Genesee, Hillsdale and Kalamazoo. These obviously furnished much of the data used in the later and more carefully constructed county histories. Some of the earlier histories, however, are especially poor. In this class are those for Kent, Saginaw and Washtenaw counties published by C. C. Chapman and Co. They give data of comparatively little value for settlement, garbling the papers furnished by pioneers, and abounding in appealing generalities.

A second wave of interest in Michigan county history is shown by volumes appearing in the years 1888-1892. These came from

two Chicago firms, Chapman Brothers and the Biographical Publishing Co., and differed from the earlier output by being distinctly biographical in character. Many of them bore names beginning "Portrait and Biographical Album." They are of much value in tracing the sources of population.

Since 1905, two Chicago publishing companies have appeared in this field, one of which, the Lewis Publishing Co., is sponsoring work of a much higher grade than has been done hitherto. The title of these volumes begins "The Twentieth Century History." They lay the chief emphasis upon recent years, and hence are not so useful for data about early settlement as the older histories. As a whole they do not contribute much new data on the earlier period, but are better organized.

Almost without exception, the county histories give a large section of their space to biographical sketches of pioneers and present day business men. Since the volumes are sold by subscription, the subjects of these sketches are in the main those who can afford to buy the volume. It thus happens that prominent early pioneers who happen not to have descendents living in the county, get scant treatment. Without exception these volumes are of the unwieldy folio or quarto size, with heavy leather binding, thick paper, and very poor indexes. Their generally poor quality and exorbitant prices have made them justly the object of much ridicule and contempt among serious workers. Yet for many phases of early settlement they contain the main sources of information, poor as it may be. With proper checking they may be made to yield light on some problems, such as the founding of villages, routes of travel, prejudices of settlers, sources of population and conditions of pioneer life.

For the present purpose it is thought most useful to arrange these books chronologically under the names of their publishers. Only those used by the author in this work are given.

L. H. EVERTS AND Co., Philadelphia.
Calhoun County, 1877.
Oakland County, 1877.
St. Joseph County, 1877.

EVERTS AND ABBOTT, Philadelphia.
Branch County, 1879.
Genesee County, 1879.
Hillsdale County, 1879.
Kalamazoo County, 1880.

D. W. ENSIGN AND Co., Philadelphia.
Allegan and Barry Counties, 1880.

- Berrien and Van Buren Counties, 1880.
Ingham and Eaton Counties, 1880.
Ionia and Montcalm Counties, 1881.
Shiawassee and Clinton Counties, 1880.
- C. C. CHAPMAN AND Co., Chicago.
Kent County, 1881,
Saginaw County, 1881.
Washtenaw County, 1881.
- INTER-STATE PUBLISHING Co., Chicago.
Jackson County, 1881.
- WATERMAN, WATKINS AND Co., Chicago.
Cass County, 1882.
- M. A. LEESON AND Co., Chicago.
Macomb County, 1882.
- H. R. PAGE AND Co., Chicago.
Muskegon and Ottawa Counties, 1882.
- A. T. ANDREAS AND Co., Chicago.
St. Clair County, 1883.
- MUNSELL AND Co., New York. •
Monroe County, 1890.
- S. J. CLARKE PUBLISHING Co., Chicago.
Macomb County, 1905.
Washtenaw County, 1906.
- THE LEWIS PUBLISHING Co., Chicago.
Allegan County.
Berrien County.
Branch County.
Calhoun County.
Cass County.
Detroit.
Monroe County.
Oakland County.
Saint Clair County.
Saint Joseph County.
Van Buren County.

The following histories of cities or sections of the State were published mainly in Michigan:

- BAXTER, ALBERT. *History of the City of Grand Rapids, Michigan*. New York, 1891. The Appendix contains a brief history of Lowell, Kent County.

- CARLISLE, FRED (Compiler). *Chronography of Notable Events in the History of the Northwest Territory and Wayne County*. Detroit, 1890.
- COWLES, ALBERT E. *Past and Present of the City of Lansing and Ingham County, Michigan*. Lansing, Michigan, 1904.
- EVERETT, FRANKLIN. *Memorials of the Grand River Valley*. Chicago, 1878. This work was done under the auspices of the Old Residents' Association of the Grand River Valley (see preface), and is one of the chief sources for local history in that region.
- Goss, DWIGHT. *History of Grand Rapids and its Industries*. 2 vols., Chicago, 1906.
- HOGABOAM, JAMES J. *The Bean Creek Valley. Incidents of its early settlement. Collected from the memories of its earliest settlers now living [etc.]*. Hudson, Michigan, 1876.
- LANE, WILLIAM A. *Homer and its Pioneers, and its Business Men of Today*. Homer, Michigan, 1883.
- ROGERS, HOWARD S. *History of Cass County from 1825 to 1875*. Cassopolis, Michigan, 1875.
- ROSS, R. B. and CATLIN, G. B. *Landmarks of Wayne County and Detroit*. Revised by C. M. Burton, Detroit, 1898.

CONTEMPORARY NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, ETC.

- American Annual Register*. Philadelphia, 1825-1833.
- Albany Argus*. 1813+.
- Albany Cultivator*. 1834+.
- American Quarterly Review*. Philadelphia, 1827-1837.
- Boston Daily Advertiser*. 1813+.
- Boston Patriot*. 1809+.
- Boston Weekly Messenger*. 1811+.
- Charleston Mercury*. 1822+.
- The Christian Examiner*. Boston, 1824+.
- Christian Monthly Spectator*. 1819-1828.
- Cincinnati Gazette*. 1806+.
- Columbian Centinel*. Boston, 1790+.
- Connecticut Courant*. Hartford, 1764+.
- Connecticut Journal and New Haven Post Boy*. 1767-1835.
- Gazette of the United States*. New York and Philadelphia. 1789+.
- Genesee Farmer*. New York, 1831+.

- Historical Register of the United States.* Philadelphia, 1814-16.
Independent Chronicle. Boston, 1789-1831.
National Gazette. Philadelphia, 1820+.
National Intelligencer. Washington, 1800+.
New England Palladium. Boston, 1801-1835.
New Hampshire Gazette. Portsmouth, 1756+.
New York Evening Post. 1801+.
New York Herald. 1802+.
Niles' Weekly Register. Baltimore, 1811+. Especially valuable for economic conditions as affected by the changing relations between the East and the West.
North American Review. New York, 1815+.
Providence Gazette and Daily Journal. 1762+.
Pennsylvania Gazette. Philadelphia, 1728+.
The Pittsburgh Commonwealth. 1805-1809. Special attention to Michigan news in the first years of Michigan as a separate Territory.
Salem Gazette. 1774+.

EARLY MICHIGAN NEWSPAPERS

- Detroit Courier.* December 30, 1830+.
Detroit Gazette. 1817-1830. The most valuable newspaper for historical material on Michigan in this period. Democratic.
Detroit Journal. Published 1829-1830 as *The Northwestern Journal* and from 1830-1833 as *The Detroit Journal and Michigan Advertiser*. Originated with friends of John Quincy Adams.
Emigrant. Ann Arbor, 1829. Name changed to *The Western Emigrant* in 1830, and the paper became anti-Masonic.
Kalamazoo Gazette. Kalamazoo, 1834+. Democratic.
Michigan Sentinel. Monroe, 1825+. Democratic.
Michigan Statesman. White Pigeon, St. Joseph County, 1833+, Democratic. Shortly afterwards removed to Kalamazoo.
Lenawee County Republican and Adrian Gazette. Adrian, October 15, 1834+. Name changed to *The Watchtower* in 1835. A few scattered copies of the first issues preserved in Adrian Public Library.
Michigan Herald. Detroit, May 10, 1825 to April 30, 1829. Whig organ.

Monroe Journal and Michigan Inquirer. Monroe, 1834+. Discontinued the following year.

Oakland County Chronicle. Pontiac, June 25, 1830 to May, 1831. Removed to Detroit in 1831 and became *The Detroit Free Press and Michigan Intelligencer*. First issued at Detroit May 5, 1831. Name "Michigan Intelligencer" dropped in 1832.

ARTICLES IN MAGAZINES

MAYO, A. D. "Western Emigration and Western Character," in *Christian Examiner*, LXXXII, 265-282. New York, 1867.

SHEA, JOHN GILMARY. "The Canadian Element in the United States," in the *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, October, 1879.

TURNER, F. J. "The Middle West," in *International Monthly*, IV, 794-820.

TURNER, F. J. "The Colonization of the West," in *American Historical Review*, XI, 303-327. An excellent general treatment of pioneering in the Middle West. The foot notes contain valuable bibliographical aid.

TURNER, F. J. "The Problem of the West," in the *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXVIII, 289-297.

TURNER, F. J. "Contributions of the West to American Democracy," in the *Atlantic Monthly*, XCI, 83-96.

"European Emigration to the United States," in *Edinburgh Review*. July, 1854.

"German Emigration," in *Littell's Living Age*, October, 1846.

"The Revolutions of Europe, 1830-1890," in the *North American Review*, July, 1848.

"Ireland in 1834," in the *Dublin University Magazine*, January, 1835.

TRAVEL AND EXPLORATION

Light is reflected upon specific conditions of localities by travelers' accounts. Caution is needed to guard against exaggerations, inaccuracies and prejudices. English travelers were prone to speak slightly of conditions in the West. (See the protest of Robert Walsh, *An Appeal from the Judgment of Great Britain respecting the United States*, Philadelphia, 1819; also McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, V, Ch. 48). Some travels were made to gather information for emigrants, to serve as a basis for gazetteers and guides. Accounts of travels published abroad had influence on foreign immigration to the localities described. These became very numerous after about 1835.

ABDY, E. S. *Journal of a Residence and Tour in the United States of North America, 1833-1834.* 3 vols., London, 1835.

Americans as they are; described in a Tour through the Valley of the Mississippi. London, 1828.

BOARDMAN, J. *America and the Americans* [etc.]. London, 1833.

CANDLER, ISAAC. *A Summary View of America.* London, 1824.

CHEVALIER, MICHAEL. *Society, Manners and Politics in the United States, being a Series of Letters on North America.* [January, 1834 to October, 1835]. Boston, 1839. This was a translation from the third Paris edition. Gives an excellent summary of the social conditions as they were at the close of this period.

CORBETT, WILLIAM. *A Year's Residence, in the United States of America.* 3rd ed., London, 1828. Unfavorable to emigration to the United States.

CUMING, FORTESCUE. *Sketch of a Tour to the Western Country . . . commenced at Philadelphia in the Winter of 1807 and concluded in 1809.* Pittsburg, 1810.

DARBY, WILLIAM. *A Tour from the City of New York to Detroit, in Michigan Territory, made between the 2nd of May and the 22nd of September, 1818.* New York, 1819.

DE ROOS, F. F. *Personal Narrative of Travels in the United States and Canada in 1826* [etc.]. London, 1827.

DUDEN, GOTTFRIED. *Bericht ueber eine Reise nach den westlichen Staaten Nordamerika's und einen mehrjaehrigen Aufenthalt am Missouri (in den Jahren, 1824-1827), in Bezug auf Auswanderung und Uebervoeelkerung.* 2nd ed., Bonn, 1834.

DUKE OF SAXE-WEIMAR-EISENACH. *Travels through North America during the Years 1825 and 1826* [etc.]. Philadelphia, 1828.

EVANS, ESTWICK. *A Pedestrious Tour of Four Thousand Miles through the Western States and Territories, during the Winter and Spring of 1818* [etc.]. Concord, New Hampshire, 1819. In Thwaites' *Early Western Travels*, VIII, 90-364. Valuable for specific knowledge of settlement along the southeastern shore of Michigan at that date. The journey from Monroe to Detroit was made on foot.

FAUX, W. *Memorable Days in America: being a Journal of a Tour to the United States, principally undertaken to ascertain, by positive Evidence, the Condition and probable Prospects of British Emigrants* [etc.]. London, 1823.

- FEARON, H. B. *Sketches of America. A Narrative of a Journey of five thousand Miles through the eastern and western states of America* [etc.]. Third edition, London, 1819.
- FIDLER, ISAAC. *Observations on Professions, Literature, Manners, and Emigration in the United States and Canada*. New York, 1833.
- FINCH, JOHN. *Travels in the United States of America and Canada* [etc.]. London, 1833. Canadians in the region of the Great Lakes.
- FOWLER, J. *Journal of a Tour in the State of New York in the year 1830* [etc.]. London, 1831.
- HALL, BASIL. *Travels in North America in the Years 1827 and 1828* [etc.]. 3 vols., Edinburgh, 1829.
- HALL, JAMES. *Letters from the West; containing Sketches of Scenery, Manners, and Customs; and Anecdotes connected with the first Settlements of the Western Sections of the United States*. London, 1828.
- HARDING, BENJ. *Tours through the Western Country, A. D. 1818 and 1819*. New London, 1819.
- HARRIS, WILLIAM TELL. *Remarks made during a Tour through the United States of America in the years 1817, 1818 and 1819*.
- HECKE, J. VAL. *Reise durch die Vereinigten Staaten von Nord Amerika in den Jahren 1818 and 1819* [etc.]. 2 vols., Berlin, 1820-21.
- HINSDALE, BURKE AARON. *The Old Northwest* [etc.]. New York, 1888. Second edition, New York, 1899. Valuable introduction to the study of Michigan in this period.
- HODGSON, ADAM. *Remarks during a Journey through North America in the years 1819-21, in a Series of Letters; with an Appendix, containing an Account of several of the Indian Tribes, and the principal Missionary Stations* [etc.]. New York, 1823.
- HOFFMAN, C. F. *A Winter in the West*. 2 vols., New York, 1835. Acute observations by an apparently experienced traveler, written very entertainingly in the form of letters from various points in the West. Volume I is of much value for Michigan in the years 1833-1834.
- HOLMES, ISAAC. *An account of the United States of America, derived from actual Observation, during a Residence of four Years in that Republic: including original Communications*. London, 1823.
- LATROBE, C. J. *The Rambler in North America* [etc.]. 2 vols., New York, 1833.

- LINDSAY, W. *View of America* [etc.]. Hawick, 1824.
- McKENNEY, THOMAS L. *Sketches of a Tour to the Lakes* [etc.]. Baltimore, 1827. Contains items of interest about Detroit and the St. Clair settlements.
- MARTINEAU, HARRIET. *Society in America 1834-1836*. 3 vols., London, 1837.
- MARTINEAU, HARRIET. *Retrospect of Western Travel*. 2 vols., New York, 1838.
- MURAT, ACHILLE. *America and the Americans*. New York, 1849. Apparently written about 1830. Good for a general survey of social and economic conditions in the West.
- NEILSON, P. *Recollections of a Six Year's Residence in the United States of America*. Glasgow, 1830.
- OGDEN, GEORGE W. *Letters from the West*. New Bedford, 1823. Reprinted in Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, XIX.
- PALMER, JOHN. *Journal of Travels in the United States of North America and in Lower Canada, performed in the year 1817*. London, 1818.
- RAFINESQUE, C. S. *Travels and Researches in North America* [etc.]. Philadelphia, 1836.
- SCHOOLCRAFT, HENRY R. *Summary Narrative of an exploratory Expedition to the Sources of the Mississippi River, in 1820; resumed and completed by the Discovery of its Origin in Itaska Lake, in 1832*. Philadelphia, 1855.
- SHIRREFF, P. *Tour through North America* [etc.]. Edinburgh, 1835.
- STUART, J. *Three Years in North America*. 2 vols., New York, 1833.
- THWAITES, R. G. (Editor). *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*. 32 vols., Cleveland, Ohio, 1904-1907.
- WRIGHT, JOHN S. *Letters from the West; or a Caution to Emigrants*. Salem, New York, 1819.

TRAVELERS' GUIDES

- COBBETT, WILLIAM. *The Emigrant's Guide* [etc.]. London, 1830.
- COLLINS, S. H. *The Emigrant's Guide to and Description of the United States of America*. Hull, 1830.
- DANA, E. *Geographical Sketches of the Western Country: designed for Emigrants and Settlers: being the Result of extensive Researches and Remarks. To which is added a Summary of all the most interesting Matters on the Subject* [etc.]. Cincinnati, 1819.

- DARBY, WM. *The Emigrant's Guide to the Western and South-western States and Territories* [etc.]. With map. N. Y., 1817.
- FARMER, JOHN. *The Emigrants' Guide, or Pocket Gazetteer of the Surveyed Part of Michigan*. Albany, New York, 1830. An accurate, and for that day quite complete, guide to the Territory. Sold with map and separately. A new edition appeared in 1831, and a much enlarged edition in 1836. Very valuable.
- FLINT, JAMES. *Letters From America, containing Observations on the Climate and Agriculture of the western States, the Manners of the People, and the Prospects of Emigrants, etc., etc.* Edinburgh, 1822.
- HEWETT, D. *The American Traveller* [etc.]. Washington, 1825.
- MELISH, JOHN. *Information and Advice to Emigrants to the United States; and from the Eastern to the Western States: illustrated by a Map of the United States and a Chart of the Atlantic Ocean*. Philadelphia, 1819. Among the most favorable of the early references to Michigan.
- MELISH, JOHN. *The Traveller's Directory through the United States; containing a Description of all the Principal Roads through the United States, with copious Remarks on the Rivers and other Objects* [etc.]. New York, 1825. Contains valuable maps and diagrams of routes of travel, with valuable notes. Earlier editions appeared in 1815, 1819 and 1822.
- MORSE, JEDIDIAH and MORSE, RICHARD C. *The Traveller's Guide; or, Pocket Gazetteer of the United States; extracted from the latest Edition of Morse's Universal Gazetteer* [etc.]. Second edition; enlarged, revised and corrected. New Haven, 1826. Good map of United States in colors. Favorable to the eastern part of Michigan, but misrepresents the country west of the dividing ridge.
- PECK, REV. JOHN MASON. *A Guide for Emigrants, containing Sketches of Illinois, Missouri, and the adjacent parts*. Boston, 1831. Acute observations, well written.

GAZETTEERS, DIRECTORIES, GEOGRAPHICAL AND STATISTICAL WORKS

- AMPHLETT, WILLIAM. *Emigrants' Directory of the Western States of North America*. London, 1819.
- BLOIS, JOHN T. *Gazetteer of the State of Michigan, in Three parts, containing a General View of the State, a Description of the Face of the Country, Soil, Productions, Public Lands, Internal Improvements, Commerce, Government, Climate, Education, Religious Denominations, Population, Antiquities, etc., etc.* With a Succinct

History of the State, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time. Also a particular description of the Counties, Towns, Villages, Post Offices, Water Courses, Lakes, Prairies, etc., alphabetically arranged; with an Appendix, containing the Usual Statistical Tables, and a Directory for Emigrants, etc. Detroit and New York, 1839. A very valuable source for Michigan. Contains the Territorial census of 1834.

BLOWE, D. *Geographical, Commerical and Agricultural View of the United States.* Liverpool, 1820.

BRISTED, JOHN. *Resources of the United States of America.* New York, 1818.

BROWN, SAMUEL R. *The Western Gazetteer; or, Emigrant's Directory, containing a geographical Description of the Western States and Territories [etc.].* Auburn, New York, 1817. Apparently based upon first-hand knowledge. The eighteen pages devoted to Michigan Territory are fairly accurate.

CLARK, CHARLES F. (Compiler and publisher). *Michigan State Gazetteer and Business Directory for 1863-4, embracing Historical and Descriptive Sketches of all the Cities, Towns and Villages throughout the State, together with Classified Lists of all Professions, Trades and Pursuits, Names of all Organized Companies, State and County Officers, and full information regarding the Mercantile and Manufacturing Interests of the State.* 2nd ed., Detroit, 1863.

Daily Advertiser Directory for the City of Detroit for the year 1850. Detroit, 1850. Contains items on early settlement.

DAVENPORT, BISHOP. *A New Gazetteer or Geographical Dictionary of North America and the West Indies [etc.].* Baltimore, 1832. Interesting rather for what it does not say about Michigan, at a date fairly well advanced.

FLINT, TIMOTHY. *Condensed Geography and History of the Western States.* 2 vols., Cincinnati, 1828.

FLINT, TIMOTHY. *The History and Geography of the Mississippi Valley.* 2nd ed., 2 vols., Cincinnati, 1832. Very unreliable for Michigan. Flattering presentation of its advantages for the immigrant, in I, 436-7. Main attention to the Great Lakes and principal interior rivers.

Geographical, Historical, Commercial and Agricultural View of the United States of America; forming a complete Emigrant's Directory through every part of the Republic [etc.]. London, 1820. Apparently an expansion of Brown's *Western Gazetteer*. Intended to induce English emigrants to settle in the West.

Indiana Gazetteer. 2nd ed., Indianapolis, 1833.

- KILBOURNE, JOHN. *Ohio Gazetteer*. Columbus, 1819.
- KINGDOM, WILLIAM, Jr. *America and the British Colonies, an abstract of all the most useful Information relative to the United States of America* [etc.]. London, 1820. Good advice to intending emigrants. Not favorable to the West.
- MACKENZIE, E. *An historical, topographical, and descriptive View of the United States of America* [etc.]. New-Castle-upon-Tyne, 1819.
- MAC CABE, JULIUS P. BOLIVAR. *Directory of the City of Detroit, with its Environs, and Register of Michigan, for the Year 1837. Containing an Epitomized History of Detroit; an Alphabetical List of its Citizens; a Classification of Professions and Principal Trades in the City; Every Information Relative to Offices and Officers, to Churches, Associations and Institutions, to Shipping, Steam Boats, Stages, etc.—also, a List of the Officers of the United States Government; the Names of the Governor, and Members of the Legislature of Michigan, and County Officers of the State.* etc., etc., etc. Detroit, 1845. Contains many items of interest for settlement.
- MELISH, JOHN. *A geographical Description of the United States, with the contiguous British and Spanish Possessions*. Philadelphia, 1816. An expanded edition (1822) with slightly altered title, contains 491 pages, and shows Michigan rising in importance. There were other editions of this work.
- MELISH, JOHN. *A Statistical View of the United States, containing a geographical Description of the United States and of each State and Territory; with topographical Tables of the Counties, Towns, Population, etc.* New York, 1825. Of value for population of Michigan counties.
- SPAFFORD, HORATIO GATES. *A Gazetteer of the State of New York: embracing an ample Survey and Description of its Counties, Towns, Cities, Villages, Canals* [etc.]. With a new Map, and Profiles of the Canals. Albany, 1824.
- WELLINGS, JAMES H. *Directory of the City of Detroit; and Register of Michigan, for the year 1845. Containing An Epitomized History of Detroit; an Alphabetical List of its Citizens; a List of the officers of the Municipal Government, the officers of the United States, and the State Officers and Members of the Legislature of Michigan; also, every information relative to the time and place at which the several Courts sit throughout the State; with a List of Churches, Associations, Institutions, County Officers, etc., etc., etc.* Detroit, 1845.

NATIONAL AND STATE PUBLICATIONS

- American State Papers. Documents, legislative and executive.* 38 vols., Washington, 1832-1861. Extend from 1789 to 1838 inclusive.
- Annals of the Congress of the United States.* 42 vols., Washington, 1834-1856. Extend from 1789 to 1824 inclusive.
- Census of the State of Michigan*, 1884. 2 vols., Lansing, 1886. Contains an account of the early censuses taken under the auspices of the Territory and State.
- CURTIS, B. R. *Reports of Decisions in the Supreme Court of the United States. With notes and a Digest.* 23 vols., Boston, 1855. Condensed reports, forming a convenient approach to the older and complete reports.
- Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part 2, containing Indian Land Cessions in the United States. Washington, 1899, pp. 521-997. Valuable plates. Most convenient source for information on this subject.
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There have been published a large number of atlases of Michigan counties, the first publishing house in this field being that of C. O. Titus, Philadelphia, which published atlases of Branch and Cass counties in 1872. A little later, the firms of Evarts and Stewart, Chicago, and F. W. Beers & Co., New York, entered the field, the latter publishing extensively, as late as 1897. Atlases of nearly all the countries south of Saginaw Bay were issued between 1872 and 1876. This is to be accounted for, probably, by local interest in preparations for the centennial year. Beginning about the World's Fair year, 1893, a new impulse is evident in the appearance of new county atlases, published mainly by the following firms: G. A. Ogle and Co., Chicago; American Atlas Co., Chicago; E. P. Noll and Co., Philadelphia; National Publishing Co., Boston. Latterly, a few local firms have issued atlases of their localities, such as R. L. Polk and Co., Grand Rapids; W. C. Sauer, Detroit; and Treat Brothers, Adrian.

The maps in these atlases vary in quality, but on the whole they are reliable for purposes of historical study. Most of them are made from the original United States surveys and field notes, the originals of which can be consulted at the State Capitol at Lansing, where they were deposited after the completion of the surveys in 1857. The data furnished by them is of great value in reconstructing contemporary topography and physical conditions of early settlement.

Most of the atlases contain brief notes on early settlement of the various townships, but these must be carefully compared with other data if used.

Very many of these atlases can be consulted in the Detroit Public Library and the State Library at Lansing. Almost invariably the atlas of a given county can be obtained from the public library at the county seat. The Library of Congress has many of them. (See *A List of Geographical Atlases in the Library of Congress* (1909), I, 864-869).



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